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VOLUME II, 1908

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SUPPLEMENTARY PAPERS

OF THE

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES

IN

ROME

VOLUME II

BY

GEORGE HENRY ALLEN
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PREFATORY NOTE

THE number of Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome which had accumulated since the publication of Volume I was so great that the Committee on Publication was obliged to make a selection of these to be included in Volume II. Of the remainder some of the shorter papers were published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* and elsewhere, while some were reserved for later volumes of the Supplementary Papers.

The papers published in the journals are as follows, including a few which were published by members of the School without being submitted to the Committee in charge of Volume II:

C. D. CURTIS, Coins from Asia Minor, *A.J.A.* XI (1907), pp. 194–195.

A. M. HARMON, "Ignis a romphaea," *Rh. Mus.* LXII (1906), pp. 159 ff.

C. R. MOREY, Inscriptions from Rome, *A.J.A.* X (1906), pp. 427–428.

A. W. VAN BUREN, Notes on Dr. D. M. Robinson's *Inscriptions from Sinope*, *A.J.A.* X (1906), pp. 295–299.

A Bronze Statuette from Norba, *A.J.A.* X (1906), pp. 415–419.

The Temples at Ostia, *A.J.A.* XI (1907), pp. 55–56.

The Temples of Castor and of Concord in the Roman Forum, *Class. Rev.* XX (1906), pp. 77–84.

On the Temples of Castor and of Concord in the Roman Forum, *B. Ph. W.*, Jan. 27, 1906.

On the Temples of Castor and of Concord, *Class. Rev.* XX (1906), p. 184.

An Inscription of the Charioteer Menander, *A.J.A.* XI (1907), pp. 179–181.

Note on Pliny, *Epp.* III. 6, IX. 39, *Class. Rev.* XIX (1905), pp. 446–447.

For previous publications of the Papers of the School see Prefatory Note to Volume I (1905).

The final decision in matters of detail has been left to the authors, who are therefore responsible for the opinions expressed in their papers. This is especially the case with the article on the Palimpsest of Cicero, *De Re Publica*, since the author only has had access to the original manuscript.

The cost of publication of this Volume has been met by a grant of three thousand dollars from the Carnegie Institution. For this generous assistance the Managing Committee of the School desires to express its great obligations.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION:
JOHN C. ROLFE, *Chairman*,
CHARLES E. BENNETT,
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AUGUST, 1907.

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THE ADVANCEMENT OF OFFICERS IN THE ROMAN ARMY

An interest in the consideration of the advancement of officers in the Roman army was first aroused by the discovery, in 1820, on the Caelian Hill in Rome, of two stone pedestals, each inscribed with the names of about a thousand soldiers of *Cohors V vigilum*. One of the two bases was erected in 210 A.D.; the dedication of the other was a few years earlier. On the later stone the names of the *principales* or non-commissioned officers are grouped at the head of the lists of the centuries to which they belong in the order of their rank. Besides, many individuals whose names appear on the earlier dedication among the private soldiers are indicated on the later pedestal as *principales*. Many of those, moreover, who are given as non-commissioned officers on the earlier stone are found occupying more advanced positions on the later one. Thus it has been possible to determine the relative importance of the different positions held by the non-commissioned officers in the *vigiles* and the successive steps in their advancement.[1]

Cauer, in his study of the *principales* in the Roman army, has collected all the epigraphic material throwing light upon the advancement of the officials included in his work.[2] But his investigation is limited to the legions and the troops forming the garrison of Rome. *Principalis*, a term which I have translated roughly as non-commissioned officer, indicated any person ranking between the private soldiers and the centurions.

As regards the advancement to higher ranks, several investigations have appeared, dealing chiefly with the promotions from the post of *primus pilus*, or ranking centurion, to the prefectures and tribunates, the positions generally identified with the military service of members of the equestrian class.[3]

In the present paper I have extended the investigation of Cauer as regards advancement to all the official positions in the Roman army of every branch of the service, adding, of course, to his results in the narrower field, the evidence furnished by the inscriptions which have come to light since the appearance of his article. In the Table of Promotions will be found tabulated all the epigraphic evidence for the

[1] The results of the evidence thus furnished will be found tabulated in O. Kellermann, *Vigilum Rom. Latercula duo Coelimontana*, Rome, 1837; Wilmanns, *Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I, p. 483; Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II, pp. 557–559. The two inscriptions appear as *C.I.L.* VI, 1057 and 1058.

[2] Cauer, *De Muneribus Militaribus Centurionatu Inferioribus*, *E.E.* IV, pp. 355–481. Cauer's results regarding the advancement will be found in Marquardt, *op. cit.* II, pp. 559 and 560.

[3] I have, in the Table and Plan, distinguished the primipilate from the other grades of the legionary centurionate. This is required for convenience of discussion. The primipilate is not to be considered as in any way distinct in fact. The *princeps* and *hastatus*, second and third centurions of the legion, will be found, in the Table, under *centurio*.

advancement of officers in the Roman army. On the basis of this, I have prepared the Plan, indicating the relative rank of officers in the Roman army. The present paper is essentially an index to the inscriptional evidence for the advancement of Roman officers. The vast majority of the inscriptions indicated in the Table are those from which the career of an officer is inferred from a list of positions mentioned in the ascending or descending order. Only epigraphic material is admitted to this collection of evidence. The literary references which might be compared with the inscriptions are interesting but usually of little importance. They will be found in the works cited in the notes. The collection includes only positions of a purely military character. The *legati Augusti pro praetore* were governors of provinces as well as commanders of armies, and are therefore excluded. In all cases, moreover, offices of a civil character intervened between the lower military positions occupied by men of senatorial rank and the command of legions and provinces. For the same reasons the higher prefectures find no place in the discussion. All extraordinary commands and temporary commissions are omitted. Thus, in the second century and first part of the third, centurions were detailed from their legions and assigned to *numeri* as their *praepositi* or commanders.[1] In the same way, centurions and decurions were entrusted with the command of certain of the cohorts and *alae* of the auxiliary troops.[2] In both these cases there is no real promotion. The man performs the duties of commander of an auxiliary corps, but his rank remains that of centurion. When subsequently he is advanced, his promotion is really from the centurionate.

Legionary centurions served on the staff of the provincial governors, *legati Augusti pro praetore*, sometimes in charge of the *stratores*, sometimes as drill-masters of the *equites singulares* assigned to the governor, again as commanders of these same picked horsemen.[3] The position of these centurions in the presence of the *legatus* had, no doubt, an important influence on their subsequent advancement by securing his favor. They retained, for the time being, however, their rank as centurions of the legion and are so classed in this paper. In most cases the inscriptions indicate the connection with the legion.[4] The appointment of a legionary centurion to serve on the staff of his superior commander is not, therefore, to be considered as an advancement in rank.

The function of the *praefecti fabrum* in the imperial period is obscure. Their

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 2494; VIII, 18007, 18008; Cagnat, *L'Année Épigraphique*, *R.A.* XXVI (1895), no. 20, p. 275. The same practice was sometimes followed in the case of the decurions in auxiliary corps: *C.I.L.* VIII, 9745.

[2] *C.I.L.* III, 1918, 8739, 11936, 14370[2]; VII, 371; VIII, 10949, 21560; Brambach, *C. I. Rh.* 1583; Cagnat, *L'Année Épigraphique*, *R.A.* XIII (1889), no. 54; XVII (1891), no. 5.

[3] Cf. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, pp. 30–32.

[4] *C.I.L.* II, 4114, 4083 (. . . *c(enturio) legionis (septimae) G(eminae) Fel(icis) praep(ositus) simul et camp(idoctor)*, cf. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, p. 483, no. 2416); III, 7904 (Dessau, *op. cit.* p. 483, no. 2417), 10360 (. . . *c(uram) a(gente) Aur(elio) Victorino c(enturione) leg(ionis) (secundae) Ad(iutricis)* . . .); VIII, 2749; Cagnat, *L'Année Épigraphique*, *R.A.* XVIII (1891), no. 146 (. . . *c(enturio) leg(ionis) (tricesimae) Ulp(iae) curam agens stratorum et peditum singularium co(n)s(ularis)* . . .). At a later period these departments of the staff may have been organized in such a way that the centurions were permanently detached from their legions. Thus we may have in *C.I.L.* VIII, 7050. . . . *Felix primi(pi)laris leg(ionis) (tertiae) Cyrenaicae (st)rator in Arabiae* . . ., an advancement from *strator (centurio stratorum?)* to *primus pilus*.

duties were probably rather civil than military. They have been excluded from the discussion. When the office of *praefectus fabrum*, or any extraordinary or temporary command intervenes in a series of military commands between two regular, purely military positions, the latter are regarded as consecutive steps in advancement.

All positions in the fleet are excluded from consideration except the promotion from navarch, or *centurio classis*, to the legionary centurionate.

The *frumentarii* were legionary soldiers detailed for service outside their legions. They acted as a sort of imperial police. (Cf. Hirschfeld, *Die Sicherheitspolizei im röm. Kaiserreiche.*) Legionary centurions, called *centuriones frumentarii*, or *frumentariorum*, were entrusted with their command. The ranking *centurio frumentarius* was called *princeps peregrinorum*. The headquarters of the corps were at Rome, the so-called *castra peregrina*. In general, the inscriptions of the *centuriones frumentarii* do not indicate connection with any legion.[1]

In some cases the inscriptions show very clearly that the position of *centurio frumentarius* was an independent step in the advancement.[2]

In any case, the connection of the *centurio frumentarius* with his legion must have been merely nominal. This is shown by an inscription discovered in the House of the Vestals in Rome (*N.S.* 1883, p. 458): *pro salute domini nostri imperator(is) Severi Alexandri Pii Augusti . . . Genio sancto castror(um) peregrinorum T(itus) Flavius Domitianus domo Nicomedia quod speculator leg(ionis) tertiae Parth(icae) Severianae vovit hastatus leg(ionis) (decimae) Fretensis princeps peregrinorum reddedit.*

It is evident that the person mentioned in this inscription ranked as *hastatus* in the *Legio X Fretensis* at the same time that he held the position of *princeps peregrinorum*. But his command of the *frumentarii* required his presence in Rome, although the legion of which he was nominally a member was stationed in Palestine. In view of these circumstances, I have in all cases treated the *centurio frumentarius* as forming an independent step in the advancement.

In the Plan accompanying this paper[3] the different positions are arranged according to their relative rank, the inferior grades being placed in the lower part of the sheet, the higher ones above. The various branches of the service are distinguished in vertical sections; *numeri*, *cohortes*, *alae*, *legiones*, etc. In each of these divisions the *principales* are arranged, as far as possible, under their corresponding chiefs, as the *beneficiarius tribuni* under the *tribunus militum*, the *cornicularius praefecti vigilum* under the *praefectus vigilum*, etc. The relative rank of the different offices varied slightly from time to time. But in general the plan will be found to represent the state of affairs that prevailed during the first three centuries of the empire.

[1] Exceptions are *C.I.L.* II, 4150; III, 1980, 4787, 4861 (it is not certain that *fr.* in this inscription is an abbreviation for *frumentarius*), 7041, 7420; VI, 423.

[2] *C.I.L.* XI, 5215 (=5216, cf. *C.I.L.* III, 7795) . . . *cent(urioni) frum(entario), subprincipi peregrinorum, adstato et principi et primo pilo leg(ionis) (septimae) . . .*; *C.I.L.* VI, 1636 . . . *trib(uno) coh(ortium) (decimae) pr(aetoriae) (undecimae) urb(anae) (tertiae) vig(ilum), praef(ecto) leg(ionis) (secundae) Ital(icae), primo pilo leg(ionis) (tertiae) Gall(icae), c(enturioni) frument(ario) . . .*; *C.I.L.* II, 484 . . . *primipilo leg(ionis) (tertiae) Aug(ustae) Piae Vindicis, principi peregrin(orum), centurioni frumentar(io), centurioni legion(is) decimae. . . .*

[3] It is an extension of the table in Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II, p. 559.

The advancement begins with the *principales*.[1] These were usually selected from the common soldiers. In some instances persons of the decurial class in the municipalities were made *principales* immediately upon their enlistment, on account of their better education. It will be observed that the advancement from *principalis* to centurion in the troops of the garrison of Rome was in all cases after service as *evocatus*. The term of service in the praetorian cohorts was sixteen years. At the end of this period the most efficient soldiers were invited to continue their service indefinitely, with increased pay and rank, as *evocati*.[2] The *evocati* formed a regular position in the official system, with duties and functions of its own, and must not be considered as a mere "seminarium" or training-school for centurions.[3]

Probably a large number of *evocati* never became centurions. Yet so far as we know all of the centurions of the *vigiles* were selected from the *evocati*. The further advancement was regularly from the centurionate in the *vigiles* to that in the urban, then to that in the praetorian cohorts.

The legionary centurionate was recruited, in general, from the following sources:

1. Centurions of the troops stationed in Rome, advanced to legionary centurionates of higher rank from the position of *centurio cohortis praetoriae* (Table of Promotions, 39), *centurio trecenarius* (same Table, 56) or *centurio cohortis urbanae* (45[4]). In most cases the *centurio trecenarius* (57), and in some instances the *centurio cohortis praetoriae* (41), was promoted directly to the primipilate. Regarding these promotions, see Mommsen, *E.E.* V (1884), p. 142 ff.

2. *Principales* of the city garrison promoted directly to the legionary centurionate. These are from the positions of *beneficiarius praefecti praetorio* (15), *cornicularius praefecti praetorio* (66 and 67 to *primus pilus*), *optio speculatorum* (120), *cornicularius praefecti vigilum* (68), and *cornicularius praefecti annonae* (65). It has been observed above that the only door to promotion to city centurionates lay through service as *evocatus*.

3. Legionary *principales*. Promotions to the legionary centurionate from these positions have been discussed by Baehr (*De Centurionibus Legionariis Quaestiones Epigraphicae*, Berlin, 1900, pp. 1–2). It appears that a service of at least ten years must have been required previous to promotion to the centurionate. Both *principales* serving on the staff of superior officers (14, 61, 62, 64, and 97), and those occupying tactical positions (83, 104, and 157), as well as the *aquilifer* (5), are promoted to the legionary centurionate.

4. Centurions or decurions of the auxiliary corps. These promotions are made from the positions *decurio alae* (80, cf. Baehr, *De Centurionibus Legionariis Quaestiones Epigraphicae*, Berlin, 1900, p. 6), *decurio cohortis* (82), *centurio cohortis* (49), and the *decurio equitum singularium Augusti* (84). Mention might here be made of the promotions from *centurio classis* (48) and *navarchus* (101 and 102), as well as from *eques*

[1] Cf. Vegetius, 2, 7; Tarrutenius Paternus, *Digest.* 50, 6, 7. Regarding the duties of these petty officials, see Marquardt, *op. cit.* II, pp. 544–557; Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, II, pp. 16–18.

[2] Regarding the service of the *evocati*, see Schmidt, *Die Evocati*, *Hermes*, XIV (1879), pp. 321–353, and Mommsen, *E.E.* V (1884), pp. 142–154.

[3] Cf. Cauer, *op. cit.* p. 480, and note; also Mommsen, *op. cit.* p. 153, note 2.

[4] References like this are to the Table of Promotion.

singularis Augusti (89). It will be observed that in the case of *C.I.L.* VIII, 2354 (cf. 82) and *C.I.L.* V, 522 (cf. 49) the individuals were legionary soldiers before being appointed decurions or centurions in the auxiliary troops. Legionary soldiers were often made non-commissioned officers in the auxiliary divisions.[1]

In the inscription *C.I.L.* VIII, 9045 we can only infer a promotion from the position of *decurio alae* to the legionary centurionate on the basis of the subsequent career.[2]

In many instances officers began their military career as centurions. These were usually persons of equestrian rank. In some cases they may have belonged to the so-called decurial class in the municipalities.[3] There are many passages in the literature which indicate that young men of the better classes often solicited of the emperor an appointment as centurion. They wished to make a serious profession of arms, unlike the majority of officers of the upper classes, who only served a year or two as a means of obtaining political preferment. Many of the young men of equestrian rank who thus petitioned for a position as centurion were induced to do so by straitened financial circumstances.[4] Many inscriptions give a military *cursus honorum* in which the centurionate is the lowest position mentioned. Most of these probably refer to the class of officers which we have just mentioned, young men of equestrian birth who accepted appointments as centurions, abandoning, for a time at least, the privileges of their rank. But in some instances it is possible to suppose that positions lower than the centurionate have been omitted in the inscriptions, either to conceal a humble origin or as being of comparatively little importance. We are left in doubt, therefore, as to whether the career in these cases actually began with the centurionate. Unless the inscriptions contain some further indication of the origin of the individuals mentioned in them we cannot cite them as illustrating the sources from which the centurions were recruited. In a few instances we find phrases which dispel this uncertainty. The inscriptions containing the expression *centurio ex equite Romano* or its equivalent are *C.I.L.* III, 1480; V, 7865 (-7866); VI, 3584; VIII, 1647; VIII, 14698; X, 1127 (cf. IX, 1582 and 1583) and *C.I.G.* 2803. In two instances we find *primus pilus ex equite Romano* (*C.I.L.* III, 750 and IX, 951). In only one case (*C.I.L.* X, 1127) does the career extend beyond the primipilate. It is probable that in many other instances of military careers in which the primipilate or centurionate is given as the first position occupied the personage was originally of equestrian rank as in the cases above, although this circumstance is not mentioned. An officer of this class who had passed the primipilate

[1] See (79), note, and compare *C.I.L.* III, 647, 8438; *C.I.L.* VIII, 9391.

[2] Regarding this inscription, see Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 6. The words of the inscription are . . . *a mil. primop. trib. coh. IIII vig. ex. dec. al. Thracum.* The order in which the various positions were occupied is doubtless as follows: *decurio alae, centurio legionis, primus pilus, tribunus cohortis vigilum.* As will be shown later (cf. pp. 8–9), the primipilate regularly precedes the tribunate of one of the cohorts forming the garrison of the city of Rome.

[3] See Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 38–45; Seeck, *Der Untergang der antiken Welt*, II, p. 18; Madvig, *Kleine philologische Schriften*, p. 532 ff.; Dio Cassius, 52, 25, 6. The latter represents Maecenas as advising Augustus to admit to the senate certain of the officers who had served as centurions, not those who had been promoted from the ranks, but those who had commenced their military career as centurions (*τῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἑκατονταρχησάντων*).

[4] References to the passages in the literature illustrating this custom will be found in the works cited in note 3.

and entered the real equestrian career might consider it superfluous to indicate that he belonged by birth to that order in which his military advancement had reinstated him.

6. Another class of officers of equestrian rank who occupied the centurionate consisted of those who were appointed centurions after having filled one or more of the positions reserved for members of the equestrian order. The inscriptions and the positions successively filled are as follows :

(1) *C.I.L.* II, 2424 — praefectus cohortis, centurio, primus pilus, tribunus cohortis vigilum.

(2) *C.I.L.* X, 5829 — praefectus cohortis, tribunus legionis, centurio, primus pilus, tribunus cohortis vigilum.

(3) *C.I.L.* XI, 3801 — praefectus cohortis, primus pilus, tribunus militum.

(4) *C.I.L.* XII, 2455 — praefectus equitum, primus pilus, tribunus militum.

(5) *C.I.L.* XII, 4371 — praefectus (legionis or castrorum), primus pilus, tribunus militum.

All officers who had occupied the position of *primus pilus* or ranking centurion formed a class or order called *primipilares*, and enjoyed special rewards and privileges. (Cf. Suetonius, *Gaius*, 44; Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 6–9, 35–37 ; Madvig, *Kleine philologische Schriften*, p. 535 ff.; Schmidt, *Die Rangklasse der Primipilaren*, *Hermes*, XXI (1886), pp. 590–596.) For our purpose the *primipilares* may be divided into two classes, those who after reaching the primipilate retired from the army and those who continued to serve as officers. The latter were probably reserved for a time on the staff of the commanding officers or the emperor for temporary commissions and extraordinary commands (cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 17–19). Later some of them were advanced to the regular equestrian commands, the tribunates and prefectures.

Throughout the republic, as Madvig has shown (*op. cit.* pp. 477–560), a gulf existed between the centurionate and the commands reserved for persons of the equestrian class, *militiae equestres*, which was rarely, if ever, crossed. The primipilate, therefore, was the highest position open to the ambition of the common soldier. The higher officers were always men of equestrian rank. The census which determined the minimum of property requisite for membership in the two privileged classes was, therefore, the basis of this essential distinction in the nature of military command. Under the empire, on the contrary, many ex-centurions were advanced to tribunates and prefectures, the *militiae equestres*. The primipilate became the chief gateway by which persons of modest rank and fortune might hope to gain admission to the positions usually reserved for the members of the privileged classes. Yet the principle of distinction, based on the census, which had prevailed throughout the republican period, was still observed. For upon all *primipilares* or *ex-primipili* was conferred by the emperor a sum of money sufficient to qualify them for admission to the equestrian class.[1]

In some cases the primipilate was held twice ; that is, in two different legions. In some instances the two primipilates were held consecutively, in others with one or more superior commands intervening. In the former case the fact is indicated in the

[1] See Seeck, *op. cit.* II, p. 20. Regarding the question as to whether the *primipilares* were actually admitted to the equestrian class, see Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 9–12; Schmidt, *Die Rangklasse der Primipilaren*, *Hermes*, XXI, pp. 590–596.

inscriptions by the words *primus pilus bis*. In the latter the second primipilate is given as *primus pilus iterum*. In this second case, then, the officer apparently takes a backward step from some equestrian position to the primipilate: cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 29–35, also Mommsen's note to *C.I.L.* V, 867. These retrograde movements will not be found in the Table of Promotions. I give them here, indicating in each instance the position preceding the second primipilate:

(1) tribunus cohortis praetoriae (*C.I.L.* V, 867).

(2) tribunus cohortis praetoriae (*C.I.L.* VI, 1636).

The inscription reads *primus pilus bis*, but falls evidently under this same category.

(3) tribunus cohortis praetorianae (*C.I.L.* V, 1838=1839).

(4) tribunus cohortis praetorianae (*C.I.L.* X, 5829).

(5) tribunus cohortis (*C.I.L.* X, 1711).

(6) praefectus equitum alae[1] (*C.I.L.* XI, 712).

In the majority of cases, it will be observed, the second primipilate follows the *tribunus cohortis praetoriae*. This is natural, since the first primipilate leads regularly to a tribunate in the city of Rome. In (1) and (6) the second primipilate is followed by the *praefectus legionis*. In all the others the officer after his second primipilate is made a procurator. In (1) the procuratorship follows the legionary prefecture. In (6) alone no procuratorship is attained. It would seem that the emperors offered the hope of a procuratorship to induce trusted officers to receive a second time the important post of *primus pilus*. Regarding the regular positions above the primipilate the reader should consult Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II, pp. 458, 459, 460, and 474; Seeck, *op. cit.* pp. 21–23. Regarding the tribunates and prefectures, one should observe that while young officers of senatorial families are occasionally found in other branches of the service, they usually appear in the inscriptions as *tribuni militum legionum*. The command of the auxiliary cohorts and *alae* devolved almost exclusively upon officers of equestrian birth. Omitting a few isolated examples of promotion, the positions to which *primipilares* were advanced are the following:[2]

1. *praefectus cohortis;* cf. (141). An examination of the inscriptions will prove that all of them can be dated as not later than the reign of Vespasian. This fact, taken in connection with the small number of inscriptions which indicate a promotion to the *praefectus cohortis* from the primipilate,[3] prove the inexactness of the statement made in Marquardt's *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (II, p. 474) that the commanders of auxiliary cohorts were appointed from the *primipilares*. The command of auxiliary cohorts was generally reserved for men born in the equestrian nobility. Those of this class who served more than one year held this office first, being later promoted to the positions of *tribunus militum legionis* or *tribunus cohortis*, finally to the *praefectus equitum alae;* cf. Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, p. 543. An equestrian service of three years was, however, exceptional; cf. Seeck, *op. cit.* II, p. 27.

[1] A municipal office intervenes between this and the second primipilate.

[2] Compare Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 22–29; Baehr, *op. cit.* pp. 7–14; Seeck, *op. cit.* p. 19 ff.

[3] There are only four as compared with ninety-four examples of the advancement from *praefectus cohortis* to *tribunus militum;* cf. (128).

2. *praefectus equitum alae* (142). It is noticeable that we find at least as many examples of a promotion to this, the highest of the regular *militiae equestres*, as to the *praefectus cohortis*, which is the lowest. But all antedate the close of the reign of Vespasian ; cf. Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 11.

3. *tribunus militum legionis* (149).[1] With the single exception of the inscription appearing in Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1899, no. 176 (cf. Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 54), all these examples are probably not later than the first century.[2]

Generally throughout the period of the Empire, and exclusively during the second century, the *tribuni militum legionis* consisted of young men of senatorial birth who were obliged to serve a year as officers before commencing a political career, and officers of equestrian rank, usually those who had already completed one year of service. We may be surprised, then, to find so many examples of *primipilares* promoted to the legionary tribunate during the first century. This is especially noteworthy when we consider that during the early part of this period there were not tribunates enough for all the candidates of senatorial birth ; cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 28. It will be observed that among those advanced from the primipilate to the legionary tribunate are the three examples already given (cf. p. 6) of officers who were made *primipili* after having occupied equestrian commands ; cf. *C.I.L.* XI, 3801 ; XII, 2455 and 4371. During the first century we find all the examples of the promotion from *tribunus militum legionis* to *praefectus castrorum* ; cf. (195).

4. *praefectus castrorum*, later *praefectus legionis* (140 and 144). Regarding the nature of this position see Wilmanns, *E.E.* I (1872), pp. 81–105. Wilmanns has shown how close a relation existed between the primipilate and this command (*op. cit.* p. 89). After the period of the Flavian emperors, with two or three exceptions, the *primipili* were promoted to the prefecture under discussion or to one of the tribunates in the city of Rome ; cf. Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 13. See also Seeck, *op. cit.* II, pp. 21–22.

5. *tribunus cohortis vigilum* (148). In many cases *primipili* were promoted directly to the position of

6. *tribunus cohortis urbanae* (147), or even to that of

7. *tribunus cohortis praetoriae* (146). With a very few exceptions,[3] all commanders of the cohorts forming the garrison of the city of Rome, whose careers are indicated by the inscriptions, had been previously *primipili*. Baehr (*op. cit.* pp. 13–14) has collected from the literature a number of instances of persons promoted from the primipilate to the tribunates in the city of Rome. It appears that the city tribunates were even more exclusively reserved for the *primipilares* than was the command of the auxiliary corps for officers of equestrian birth. No doubt the emperors could more safely entrust

[1] I include here all inscriptions in which the position is indicated only by the words *tribunus militum*. In a few instances, of course, the words may stand for *tribunus militum cohortis*, not *tribunus militum legionis*.

[2] The inscription *C.I.L.* XI, 1836 (cf. 132 and 143), might be added as an exception, since it gives a position, possibly extraordinary in its nature, as intervening between *primus pilus* and *tribunus militum*. This inscription, dating from the middle of the third century, would seem to indicate that after the senatorial class to a great extent withdrew from military service, the *primipilares* were again admitted to the legionary tribunate.

[3] *C.I.L.* V, 6478 and III, 249. These indicate a career commencing with the tribunate of a praetorian cohort. It is possible that in both instances inferior positions, including the primipilate, have been omitted.

their own safety and the tranquillity of the capital to these tried and experienced soldiers than to the young officers of the superior classes; cf. Seeck, *op. cit.* II, p. 22.

It will be of interest to determine from the evidence for the promotion of officers in the Roman army, as collected in this paper, what conclusion we may draw regarding a question already several times discussed, whether a common soldier or *principalis* could entertain any expectation of an advancement extending through the primipilate to the tribunates and praefectures. The question may be put a little more definitely with reference to the material of the present article. Most of our examples of promotions from the primipilate to the higher positions (cf. pp. 7–8) are drawn from inscriptions mentioning military careers which apparently begin with the primipilate. In a few of them the ordinary centurionate is the lowest position given. In only five instances do we find careers commencing with a position as *principalis* in the praetorian cohorts: *C.I.L.* VI, 1645;[1] XI, 19;[2] XI, 395; XI, 6055; XIV, 3626. We have one example of an auxiliary soldier advanced to the primipilate, and later to a tribunate: *C.I.L.* VIII, 9045 (cf. p. 5). We find not a single instance of a legionary soldier passing through the primipilate to one of the higher positions.[3]

In the large majority of cases the persons advanced from the primipilate to superior commands apparently began their career as legionary centurions.[4] Are we to believe that all these officers began their service as centurions, or are we to suppose that in many instances the indication of earlier service as common soldiers and *principales* has been omitted?

We may view the question from another standpoint by taking into consideration the inscriptions indicating advancement from subaltern positions as far as the primipilate. The Table of Promotions, 5, 14, 15, 48, 49, 61, 62, 64, 65, 66, 68, 80, 82, 83, 84, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 97, presents seventy-two examples of promotion from the *principales* to the centurionate in the legions or the garrison of Rome.[5]

In only ten of these is it certain that the career extended as far as the primipilate.[6] Of these ten inscriptions two mention persons who became centurions in the garrison of Rome after having been *principales* and *evocati* in the praetorian cohorts: *C.I.L.*

[1] The career is given: . . . *p. p. duci leg. Dac. cornic. praef.* . . . The order has probably been confused. The primipilate must have preceded the command of a legion. Cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* p. 44.

[2] The inscription reads as follows: . . . *p. p. leg. XXII Primig. p. f. praef. leg. XIII Gem. c(enturioni) leg. XV Apollin(aris)*. . . . The expression *p. p.* has been interpreted *p(rae)p(ositus)*. In my opinion it should be read *p(rimus)p(ilus)*. In this case the order has been confused. The primipilate, of course, precedes the praefecture of a legion.

[3] Yet in *C.I.L.* XII, 3177, a person who had been a legionary *principalis* reaches a higher command without passing through the primipilate.

[4] In most cases those whose careers are given as commencing with the primipilate must have previously served as ordinary centurions; for the primipilate was, in a certain sense, a reward for earlier service.

[5] The positions of auxiliary centurion and decurion, as well as the corresponding commands in the fleet, are here reckoned as *principales*.

[6] To the number of examples of *principales* who were advanced as far as the primipilate *C.I.L.* XI, 390, ought probably to be added (cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* p. 43). This inscription mentions a *primus pilus*, indicating that he had previously been a legionary soldier. But some positions as *principalis* must have intervened between the period of his service in the ranks and that of his centurionate. I omit the case of *C.I.L.* XIV, 3626, which is doubtful. Cf. (43).

XIV, 4007 ; XI, 5646 ; four were given a legionary centurionate after having been *principales* and *evocati* in the praetorian cohorts : *C.I.L.* III, 7334 ; X, 3733 ; XI, 19, 395; two passed from praetorian *principales* to the legionary centurionate without having been *evocati ; C.I.L.* VI, 1645 ; XI, 6055 ; two had been *principales* in the auxiliary troops: *C.I.L.* VIII, 9045, 14854. We have only one probable example of a legionary soldier or *principalis* advanced to the primipilate : *C.I.L.* XI, 390.[1]

It appears that the soldiers of the praetorian cohorts had a decided advantage over the legionaries as regards advancement, since the former were eligible for service as *evocati*.[2] The legionary *principalis* usually reached the centurionate between the ages of thirty and forty, after he had served at least ten years ; cf. Baehr, *op. cit.* p. 4. Before he could pass through the fifty-nine different grades of the legionary centurionate his term of service, twenty years, would generally have expired. In any case he was too old upon reaching the primipilate to continue his service further. As has already been said,[3] the term of service in the praetorian cohorts was sixteen years. At the end of this period the most efficient soldiers were invited to serve as *evocati* for an indefinite period, with increased emoluments and a prospect of future advancement to the centurionate. The centurions for the city service, as well as many of those for the legions, were supplied from the *evocati*, and they were doubtless regularly preferred to the legionary candidates for promotion.

We have observed that the centurions may be divided roughly into two classes, those who commenced their military career with the centurionate and those who were advanced to that position from the ranks. To judge *a priori* we should expect to find that those who were promoted from the centurionate to higher commands belonged to the former class ; for they would as a rule be men in the prime of life. At the same time they would possess not only the practical experience of the other centurions, but the culture and intelligence of the higher classes. This supposition is corroborated by a consideration of the inscriptions. For we find that only one-seventh of those who are promoted to the centurionate reach the primipilate ; cf. p. 9. At the same time we find scarcely a single example of a legionary soldier advanced to the primipilate and then to one of the higher commands.[4] As a rule we may say that those who were advanced beyond the primipilate were officers who began their career as centurions, and in exceptional cases soldiers of the praetorian cohorts who had been promoted to the centurionate.[5]

The officers, prefects and tribunes, who owed their position to advancement from the centurionate, usually called *viri militares*, probably became more numerous as the higher classes withdrew from military service. Unfortunately the inscriptions of the third century are not in themselves sufficient to prove this. Were the inscriptional

[1] An inscription not included in the Table ; cf. note, p. 9.

[2] The praetorian soldiers were mostly recruited from Italy, while the legionaries were mainly provincials.

[3] See p. 4.

[4] In the inscription *C.I.L.* XII, 3177, the career is : *signifer*, centurion, tribune. Perhaps some indication for *primus pilus* is to be supplied.

[5] Cf. Karbe, *op. cit.* pp. 42–43 ; Seeck, *op. cit.* II, p. 20. A promotion given in Tacitus (*Ann.* I, 20) may be noticed : . . . *Rufus diu manipularis, dein centurio, mox castris praefectus.* . . . This would seem to be very exceptional unless Rufus began his service in the praetorian cohorts.

evidence more plentiful we might find in this period examples of legionary *principales* who were advanced to the primipilate and finally to the equestrian positions.[1]

[1] It has been conjectured that in the third century the centurionate became the first position in the regular equestrian cursus [illegible]: cf. Hirschfeld, *Römische Verwaltungsgeschichte*, I, p. 240; Karbe, *op. cit.* p. 46; Bastin, *op. cit.* p. 34. The inscriptional evidence is insufficient to prove this.

TABLE OF PROMOTIONS

In the following table are indicated all inscriptions giving the promotion of officers of all ranks in the Roman army.[1]

The material is grouped according to the various steps in the order of advancement for which the inscriptions themselves offer evidence. In each instance the lower position is placed on the left of the page, the following one on the right.

1. a commentariis praefecti legionis .	optio ;[2] *C.I.L.* V, 7004.
2. a libellis praefecti praetorio . . .	optio (cohortis praetoriae); *C.I.L.* VI, 627.
3. a quaestionibus praefecti praetorio .	evocatus (coh. praet.) ; *C.I.L.* VI, 2755 ; XI, 2108 ; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
4. a quaestionibus praefecti urbi . . .	tesserarius (cohortis urbanae) ; *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
5. aquilifer	centurio ; *C.I.L.* XII, 2234 ; Brambach, *C.I. Rh.* 1752.
6. aquilifer	curator veteranorum ; *C.I.L.* V, 3375, 5832.
7. architectus (coh. praet.)	tesserarius (coh. praet.) ; *C.I.L.* XI, 20.
8. beneficiarius consularius (beneficiarius legati Augusti pro praetore viri consularis).	commentariensis consularis (commentariensis legati Augusti pro praetore viri consularis) ; Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéologique*, 2225, . . . (*β*)ενεφ (ικιάριος), καὶ ἀκομενταρήσιος καὶ κορνικουλάριος καὶ ἑκατόνταρχος γενόμενος τῆς ἡγεμο(νίας). From the location of the stone it seems probable that the person was first a *principalis* detailed for service on the staff of the consular legate of Syria, afterwards a centurion in one of the legions of that province.
9. beneficiarius consularis	cornicularius;[3] *C.I.L.* VIII, 17635.

[1] With the exceptions already noted: cf. pp. 2–3.

[2] In all cases where the branch of the service is not specified, as here, it is to be understood that the position is in one of the legions.

[3] It is often difficult to distinguish between different classes of *cornicularii* and *beneficiarii*. They fall naturally into different groups according as they are assigned to service in attendance on governors of imperial

10.	beneficiarius consularis	cornicularius praefecti legionis; *C.I.L.* VIII, 17625.
11.	beneficiarius legati Augusti (viri non consularis[1])	cornicularius legati Augusti (viri non consularis); *C.I.L.* XII, 2602.
12.	beneficiarius legati (legionis?) . .	optio; *C.I.L.* III, 12411 (Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, no. 2666b). We cannot determine in this case whether the office is *beneficiarius legati Augusti legionis* or *legati pro praetore*. The inscription gives only *b(ene)f(iciarius) lega(ti)*. See Cauer, *op. cit.* pp. 387–388.
13.	beneficiarius legati (legionis?) . .	decurio cohortis;[2] *C.I.L.* VIII, 17619 (=2226).[3]
14.	beneficiarius legionis	centurio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 17626 . . . [b(ene) f(iciarius)] leg(ionis) III Au[g(ustae)ex]pleta statione promotus ad[(centurionatum)] leg(ionis) II Italicae. . . . It is not certain whether the *beneficiarius legionis* depended on the legate or the prefect of the legion. Regarding the *officium* of the *praefectus legionis* see von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, p. 83.
15.	beneficiarius praefecti praetorio . .	centurio; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 1077.
16.	beneficiarius praefecti praetorio . .	cornicularius praefecti annonae; *C.I.L.* XI, 20.
17.	beneficiarius praefecti praetorio . .	evocatus (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* V, 3371; VI, 2794; IX, 5839 (=5840); XI,

provinces, legates, or prefects of legions, or military tribunes. As regards the governors of provinces, moreover, we must distinguish between those of consular and those of praetorian rank. For the *principales* serving on the staff of the former may be expected to rank higher than those holding corresponding positions in relation to the latter. The inscriptions rarely give the titles of *beneficiarii* and *cornicularii* in full. In many instances, as in the present inscription, there is no indication of the special service to which the individual was assigned. I have attempted to avoid all possibility of error or uncertainty by arranging these *principales* in as many groups as there are different indications given in the inscriptions themselves.

[1] See note 3, page 12. The inscription cited as an example of this promotion was found near Geneva, in a province not governed by an imperial legate of consular rank. In cases where the dependence of the *principalis* is indicated by the words *legati Augusti pro praetore* only, we may be reasonably sure that he did not serve on the staff of a governor of consular rank. For otherwise he would indicate the higher rank of his chief as conferring increased dignity on his own position. Cf. Cauer, *E.E.* IV (1881), p. 385.

[2] When *cohors* is mentioned without the indication of the branch of the service, it is to be understood that the reference is to a cohort of the auxiliary troops.

[3] The same difficulty presents itself here as in No. 12. The inscription has . . . *dec(urio) coh(ortis) Hispanor(um) ex b. le. tempore votum solvit.* The stone was found at Vazaivi, where a small detachment of auxiliary cavalry was stationed under the command of a decurion. The soldier was doubtless an auxiliary trooper before being named *beneficiarius*. This would explain his subsequent promotion to the decurionate; cf. *E.E.* IV (1881), p. 385, note by Mommsen. Wilmanns interpreted the abbreviations as *ex beneficiario legati*, but the *C.I.L.* prefers *ex [p]le(to) tempore*. . . .

		395; XI, 710; XI, 5696 (=5674); XI, 5960; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 993; Cagnat, *L'Année Épigraphique R. A.* X (1899), no. 190.
18.	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.) .	singularis praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* III, 7334.
19.	beneficiarius tribuni cohortis . . .	signifer; *C.I.L.* V, 898.
20.	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.) .	optio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* IX, 5809.
21.	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.) .	singularis praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* III, 7334.
22.	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.) . .	tesserarius (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* II, 2610; III, 2887; XI, 710.
23.	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. urb.) . .	a quaestionibus praefecti urbi; *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
24.	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. urb.) . .	tesserarius (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* III, 2887.
25.	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. vig.) . .	optio (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* X, 3880.
26.	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. vig.) . .	vexillarius (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2987.
27.	centurio	centurio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* XIV, 2523.
28.	centurio	centurio (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* II, 4461; XI, 6057.
29.	centurio	centurio frumentarius; *C.I.L.* II, 484.
30.	centurio	centurio trecenarius; *C.I.L.* III, 7534; X, 5064; XI, 395, 710, 5646, 6224 (?).
31.	centurio	dux legionis; *C.I.L.* VI, 1645.
32.	centurio	praefectus alae; *C.I.L.* XI, 707 (= Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, no. 2705).
33.	centurio	praefectus cohortis; *C.I.L.* III, 8736.
34.	centurio (hastatus)	princeps peregrinorum; *N.S.* 1883, p. 458.
35.	centurio	protector; *C.I.L.* XI, 4787.
36.	centurio (hastatus)	subprinceps peregrinorum; *C.I.L.* III, 7795 (cf. XI, 5215).
37.	centurio	tribunus militum; *C.I.L.* XI, 394.
38.	centurio	tribunus militum (cohortis); *C.I.L.* XII, 3177.
39.	centurio (coh. praet.)	centurio; *C.I.L.* VI, 1056 (cf. IX, 1582, 1583; XI, 1127); XI, 395 (princeps); XIV, 4007.
40.	centurio (coh. praet.)	centurio trecenarius; *C.I.L.* II, 4461; X, 686, 5064; XI, 2112, 5646, 6057; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
41.	centurio (coh. praet.)	primus pilus; *C.I.L.* V, 795a (cf. 934);

		VIII, 2624; X, 4872 (see *E. E.* IV (1881), p. 241); X, 6229; XIV, 2523.
42.	centurio (coh. praet.)	protector; *C.I.L.* XI, 837 (= Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, I, no. 2778).
43.	centurio (coh. praet.)	tribunus (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* XIV, 3626.[1]
44.	centurio (coh. urb.)	centurio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* II, 4461; V, 795a (cf. 934); X, 5064; XI, 395, 2112, 5646, 6057; XIV, 3626, 4007; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
45.	centurio (coh. urb.)	centurio; *C.I.L.* XI, 710.
46.	centurio (coh. vig.)	centurio (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2755; X, 5064; XI, 710; XIV, 3626, 4007.
47.	centurio (coh. vig.)	centurio (statorum); *C.I.L.* VI, 2794; XI, 395, 2112, 5646, 6224; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
48.	centurio classis	centurio; *C.I.L.* XI, 4654 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 2231).
49.	centurio cohortis	centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 8747 (?); V, 522; VIII, 3005; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 787.
50.	centurio frumentarius	centurio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 2825.
51.	centurio frumentarius	primus pilus; *C.I.L.* VI, 1636.
52.	centurio frumentarius	princeps peregrinorum; *C.I.L.* II, 484.
53.	centurio frumentarius	subprinceps peregrinorum; *C.I.L.* III, 7795 (cf. 5215 = 5216).
54.	centurio statorum	centurio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* XI, 6224.
55.	centurio statorum	centurio (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* X, 5064; XI, 395, 2112, 5646; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
56.	centurio trecenarius	centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 7534; X, 5064; XI, 6057.
57.	centurio trecenarius	primus pilus; *C.I.L.* II, 4461; III, 454 (= III, 6984 = 13648 = 14187 = Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 2663); III, 2917, 3427 (?), 6224 (=7591); VI, 3618; XI, 395, 2112, 5646.
58.	centurio trecenarius	praefectus legionis; *C.I.L.* III, 3427.
59.	commentariensis consularis	cornicularius consularis; Le Bas-Waddington, *op. cit.* no. 2225.

[1] I insert this promotion here to avoid any possible confusion. It is probable, however, that the advancement followed a somewhat different course. A promotion from the centurionate in the praetorian cohorts to a tribunate would be very extraordinary and entirely unprecedented so far as we can judge from the epigraphic evidence. The inscription reads: . . . *p. p. bis procuratori M(arci) Antonini Aug(usti) praef(ecto) leg(ionis) (secundae) Traianae fortis (ducenario) trib(uno) c(o)hor(tis) (septimae) praetoriae (quartae decimae) urbanae (tertiae) vigil(um) centurio c(o)hortis I pr(aetoriae)*. . . . The letters *p. p.*, the abbreviation for *primus pilus*, should probably be taken as indicating a step in the advancement intervening between the centurionate and first tribunate.

60.	commentariensis tribuni	cornicularius praefecti urbis; *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
61.	cornicularius[1]	centurio; *C.I.L.* XIII, 1832; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 1304.
62.	cornicularius consularis	centurio; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 1559 (cf. *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XI (1892), p. 316 ff., and *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, LX, p. 52); Le Bas-Waddington, *op. cit.* no. 2225.
63.	cornicularius legati Augusti (viri non consularis) . . .	evocatus; *C.I.L.* XII, 2602.
64.	cornicularius legionis[2]	centurio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 702.
65.	cornicularius praefecti annonae . . .	centurio; *C.I.L.* XI, 20.
66.	cornicularius praefecti praetorio . .	centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 3846 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 2652); VI, 1645 (= Dessau, *op. cit* 2773); X, 1763; XI, 3108, 6055 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 2743).
67.	cornicularius praefecti praetorio . .	primus pilus; *C.I.L.* IX, 5338 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 1325); *N.S.* 1885, p. 490.
68.	cornicularius praefecti vigilum . . .	centurio; *C.I.L.* VI, 414; XI, 5693 (=5694 = Dessau, *op. cit.* 2666).
69.	cornicularius tribuni (coh. praet.) . .	evocatus; *C.I.L.* II, 2610; III, 7334; VI, 2440; XI, 5646.
70.	cornicularius tribuni (coh. urb.) . .	cornicularius praefecti urbi; *C.I.L.* IX, 1617. Regarding this position see Cauer, *op. cit.* pp. 391 and 392, Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, II,[2] p. 1020, and Hirschfeld, *Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich, Sitzungsb. der k. preuss. Akad. der Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1891.
71.	curator fisci (coh. praet.)	cornicularius praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* X, 1763.
72.	curator fisci (coh. praet.)	cornicularius tribuni (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* II, 2610; III, 7334; VI, 3661 (?); XI, 5646.
73.	curator fisci (coh. praet.)	evocatus; *C.I.L.* VI, 627; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
74.	curator fisci (coh. urb.)	optio ab actis urbis; *C.I.L.* VIII, 4874; IX, 1617.

[1] See note 3, p. 12. We learn from the inscription only that the individual was a *cornicularius*, and we can only conjecture to what officer he was assigned.

[2] See note 3, p. 12. In the present inscription we find only the indication that the service of the official was in a legion: . . . *meruit speculator et cornicularius legionis. Initium vitis* (= *centurionatus*) *vitae fuit finis.* This is the only example of a *cornicularius legionis*, so-called, where the number or other designation of the legion is not given; cf. Cauer, *op. cit.* p. 416.

75.	curator statorum	tribunus (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* XI, 6055.
76.	curator turmae (alae)	custos armorum (alae); *C.I.L.* VIII, 2094.
77.	custos armorum (alae)	signifer (alae); *C.I.L.* VIII, 2094.
78.	custos armorum	beneficiarius legionis;[1] *C.I.L.* II, 4168.
79.	custos armorum (numeri)	signifer (numeri); *C.I.L.* III, 11135.[2]
80.	decurio (alae)	centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 6154 (*candidatus*, cf. von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* X, p. 19 ff.); *C.I.L.* VIII, 2354; 9045. (The various positions mentioned in this inscription have been confused. See note, p. 5.)
81.	decurio (alae)	praefectus cohortis; *C.I.L.* III, 647, 8739.
82.	decurio (cohortis)	centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 11213.
83.	decurio (equitum legionariorum ?) . .	centurio (hastatus); *C.I.L.* II, 1681.[3]
84.	decurio (equitum singularium Augusti)	centurio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 2817; *N.S.* 1891, p. 129 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 2213).
85.	duplicarius (alae)	decurio (alae); *C.I.L.* VIII, 2354.
86.	dux legionis	tribunus (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 1645.
87.	eques (coh. praet.)	optio equitum (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2440.
88.	eques (coh. praet.)	tesserarius (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* XI, 6350.
89.	eques singularis Augusti	centurio; *C.I.L.* II, 4147. Regarding the *equites singulares Augusti* and their commanders see Henzen, *Ann. dell' Ist.* XXII (1850), p. 34 ff., and LVII (1885), p. 278 ff.
90.	eques singularis Augusti	decurio (equitum singularium Augusti);

[1] See note 3, p. 12.

[2] The advancement is given in this inscription as follows: . . . *miles leg(ionis) (decimae) (quartae) G(eminae) librarius s. . . . custos arm(orum) signifer optio octavi pr(incipis) pr(ioris) candidatus. . . . .* The *cursus honorum* is given in the ascending order, and we find *signifer* preceding *optio*, the reverse of the regular order of promotion in the legion (cf. this Table, 107). As *candidatus*, or *optio* in expectation of the centurionate, this personage must have been a legionary *principalis*. But we need not suppose that he was *custos armorum* or *signifer* in a legion. In the auxiliary cavalry the regular promotion was from *custos armorum*, as is shown by *C.I.L.* VI, 225, where the different positions are arranged as follows in a descending order: . . . *decurio, duplicarius, sesquiplicarius* (*duplicarius* corresponds to *optio*, and *sesquiplicarius* to *tesserarius* of infantry divisions), *signifer, custos armorum, curator*. In the present inscription we may assume that the *principalis* was promoted from *signifer numeri* to *optio legionis*. Cf. von Domaszewski, *Archäologische-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, X, p. 19.

[3] The decurion mentioned in this inscription is usually recognized as a decurion of the legionary horsemen, the *equites legionarii*. The advancement is indicated . . . *decurioni eq(uitum), c(enturioni) hastato primo leg(ionis) (tertiae) . . . .* *C. I. L.* XI, 1526 offers another example of a legionary decurion. At one time, at least, the legionary horsemen were inscribed on the rolls of the various centuries, as is shown by two inscriptions in which *equites legionarii* mention their centurions; *C. I. L.* III, 11239 and VIII, 2593. For information regarding the *equites legionarii*, who ranked as *principales*, see Dehner, *Hadriani Reliquiae*, Pars I, and von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, pp. 88–90.

		Ann. dell' Ist. LVII (1885), pp. 278–280.
91.	evocatus	centurio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* X, 3900; XI, 2662.
92.	evocatus	centurio (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* XII, 2602.
93.	evocatus	centurio (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2755, 2794; X, 5064; XI, 395, 710, 2112, 5646; XIV, 3626, 4007; *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
94.	evocatus	centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 3470, 6359, 7334, 11129, 13360; V, 7160; VIII, 2852; IX, 5839; X, 3733; XI, 19, 1602, 5696, 5935, 5960; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 993 (= Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1899, no. 190).
95.	frumentarius	beneficiarius consularis;[1] *C.I.L.* II, 4154; III, 3020; VIII, 17627.
96.	frumentarius	beneficiarius tribuni; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, II (1883), *Korrespondenzblatt*, 108 and 171.
97.	frumentarius	centurio frumentarius; *C.I.L.* III, 2063. See footnote.
98.	frumentarius	optio (militum frumentariorum); *C.I.L.* XI, 1322 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, 2371).
99.	librarius in praetorio	tesserarius (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2454(?), 2754; X, 1763.
100.	librarius (numeri)	custos armorum (numeri); *C.I.L.* III, 11135.
101.	navarchus	centurio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 14854.
102.	navarchus	primus pilus; *C.I.L.* X, 3348.
103.	optio	arcarius; *C.I.L.* III, 644(?); VIII, 2554; cf. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, p. 83, and note 340.
104.	optio	centurio; *C.I.L.* III, 3445, 12411, (opt(io) ad spe(m) ordin(is); cf. Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 2666 *b*), 11135 (see *Arch. Epig. Mitth. aus Oester.* X, p. 19, on meaning of term *candi-*

[1] Two lines of advancement were open to the *frumentarii*, promotion to the centurionate of their own corps and finally to the position of *princeps peregrinorum*, the commander of their central camp at Rome, and promotion to a position as *beneficiarius* in the legions. Perhaps the former was usually the career of those who were detached from their legions for service in Rome or in close relation with the headquarters there, while the latter was the lot of those who remained in the legionary camps or provincial headquarters. It may be observed that, in general, private soldiers are made *principales* in their own legions, while in the case of those appointed *frumentarii*, this is not necessarily the practice. Cf. *C.I.L.* II, 4154 . . . *probato in leg(ione) (sexta) Ferrata, translato frumentario, in legionem (septima) Gemina pia fideli* . . .

		datus), 14178; V, 942, 7004, 7872, 6423 (optio spei); VIII, 2554; Dessau, *op. cit.* 2441 (optionis ad spem ordinis).
105.	optio	cornicularius praefecti; *C.I.L.* III, 644(?); VIII, 2554. See von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* p. 83, and note 340.
106.	optio	eques; *C.I.L.* VIII, 2894 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 2328).
107.	optio	signifer; *C.I.L.* III, 1124, 1202; VIII, 11301 (=217).
108.	optio (cohortis)	decurio (cohortis); *C.I.L.* III, 11213.
109.	optio (coh. praet.)	curator fisci (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 627; XI, 5646.
110.	optio (coh. praet.)	evocatus; *C.I.L.* V, 7160; XI, 19.
111.	optio (coh. praet.)	signifer (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* II, 2610; III, 7334; VI, 2794, 3661 (?); IX, 1609, 5839; XI, 710; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 993 (= Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1899; no. 190).
112.	optio (coh. urb.)	signifer (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* VIII, 4874; IX, 1617.
113.	optio (coh. vig.)	vexillarius (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* XI, 1438.
114.	optio ab actis urbis	cornicularius tribuni (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
115.	optio carceris (coh. urb.)	singularis tribuni (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
116.	optio equitum (coh. praet.) . . .	cornicularius tribuni (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2440.
117.	optio equitum (coh. praet.) . . .	vexillarius equitum (coh. praet.); *B. C.* 1899, p. 43.
118.	optio frumentariorum	centurio frumentarius; *C.I.L.* VI, 3328 . . . optio mil(itum) peregr(inorum) . . . re[stabant] dies (quinquaginta tres) ut fieret c(enturio) (frumentariorum?) . . .
119.	optio frumentariorum	navarchus; *C.I.L.* VIII, 14854.
120.	optio speculatorum (coh. praet.) . .	centurio; *C.I.L.* VI, 215 (see von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* pp. 91–94).
121.	optio valetudinarii (coh. urb.) . .	optio carceris (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
122.	praefectus castrorum	praefectus equitum (alae); *C.I.L.* X, 6101.
123.	praefectus castrorum	praefectus exercitu qui est in Aegypto; III, 6809.
124.	praefectus cohortis	praefectus gentis; *C.I.G.* 4536 f. add.
125.	praefectus cohortis	praefectus equitum (alae); *C.I.L.* V,

4058, 6478; XIV, 2960 (?); Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1896, no. 80.

126. praefectus cohortis . . . . . praepositus numeri; *C.I.L.* II, 1180; VIII, 9358.

127. praefectus cohortis . . . . . tribunus militum (cohortis); *C.I.L.* II, 3851; III, 1193, 6302 (= 8162), 6450, 8046; V, 6995; VIII, 2394 (cf. 2395), 9047, 17904; IX, 5066, 5357; X, 4862, 4873, 6426; XI, 709, 5632, 5669, 6010, 6337; XIV, 171; *C.I.G.* 3497 (cf. 3484 b), 6771; Dessau, *op. cit.* I, 1327; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1888, no. 66, and 1889, no. 11; *Mitth. des Arch. Inst. Griech. Abth.* IX, p. 262.

128. praefectus cohortis . . . . . tribunus militum; *C.I.L.* II, 1086, 1970, 2103, 2637, 3237, 4114, 4132, 4136, 4140, 4189, 4251, 5794; III, 600, 1163, 1464, 5202, 5211 (cf. 5212), 5214 (cf. 5215), 5331, 5775 (cf. 5776), 14195; V, 875, 2841, 3356, 4957, 5126, 5266, 5267, 5829, 6969, 7425; VI, 798, 1449, 1523, 1607, 1625 a, b; VIII, 4292, 5363, 7039, 7079, 8934, 9990, 17900, 18217; IX, 4753, 4885 (cf. 4886), 5362, 5439; X, 3847, 5583, 5829, 6976, 7583 (cf. 7584), 7587; XI, 393, 623, 709, 3337, 4183 a, 4367, 4371, 5028, 5213, 5745, 5959, 6009, 6033, 6344; XII, 672, 1357, 2456; XIII, 1680 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1390); XIV, 2495, 2618, 2957, 3548, 3625; *C.I.G.* 3953 l; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 1099, 1120; *E.E.* VIII, no. 368 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* 2748); Dessau 2723; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1888, no. 173; 1889, no. 177; 1890, no. 53; 1890, no. 151; 1892, no. 3; 1893, no. 93; 1893, no. 99; 1893, no. 120; 1896, no. 10; 1899, no. 176; 1899, no. 177.

129. praefectus equitum (alae) . . . . praefectus cohortis; *C.I.L.* XI, 6344 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, 2693).

130. praefectus equitum (alae) . . . . tribunus (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* X, 3831; XI, 4368 (?).

131. praefectus equitum (alae) . . . . tribunus militum; *C.I.L.* X, 6101; XIV, 2960; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1896, no. 80.

132. praefectus equitum singularium . . tribunus militum; *C.I.L.* XI, 1836.
133. praefectus legionis . . . . . dux legionis (?); *C.I.L.* III, 99, 1919.
134. praefectus legionis . . . . . tribunus cohortis (vigilum); *C.I.L.* VI, 1636.
135. praefectus numeri . . . . . praefectus cohortis; *C.I.G.* 6771.
136. praepositus numeri . . . . . tribunus (coh. praet.); Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1889, no. 87.
137. praepositus numeri . . . . . tribunus militum (cohortis); *C.I.L.* VIII, 9358.
138. primus pilus . . . . . curator statorum; *C.I.L.* XI, 6055.
139. primus pilus . . . . . dux legionis; *C.I.L.* III, 4855; VI, 1645 (?).
140. primus pilus . . . . . praefectus castrorum; *C.I.L.* III, 2028, 6809, 14187 (= 454), 14514; IX, 3669 (?); XI, 5674, 5696; XIV, 2523; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1901, no. 127.
141. primus pilus . . . . . praefectus cohortis; *C.I.L.* V, 4373, 6969; X, 4862, 5583.
142. primus pilus . . . . . praefectus equitum (alae); *C.I.L.* V, 7007 (?). See Karbe, *De Centurionibus Romanorum Quaestiones Epigraphicae*, p. 18. It is probable that the person mentioned in the inscription was placed in charge of the *ala* as an extraordinary command. X, 3881; XI, 624, 712, 4368 (?), 6344.
143. primus pilus . . . . . praefectus equitum singularium; *C.I.L.* XI, 1836.
144. primus pilus . . . . . praefectus legionis; *C.I.L.* III, 1919, 5328, 6809, 7795, 14224 (= 12791); V, 79 a (cf. 934), 867; VI, 1599, 1636; VIII, 2624, 14854 (= 1322); IX, 4678; XI, 19, 1059 (?), 5215 (= 5216, cf. III, 1180 = 7795); Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1902, no. 207.
145. primus pilus . . . . . praepositus statorum; *C.I.L.* V, 8660; *N. S.* 1877, p. 33; 1885, p. 175.
146. primus pilus . . . . . tribunus (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* V, 1613, 1838 (= 1839), 6513; VI, 1645 (?); XI, 6224 (?).
147. primus pilus . . . . . tribunus (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* VI, 1627, 2861; X, 4872; XI, 6224 (?), 2704 (?), 6057; *C.I.G.* 3711; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1889, no. 187 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1356).
148. primus pilus . . . . . tribunus (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* II, 2424;

		V, 534 (= 535), 867, 930, 1599, 7003; VI, 1599 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1326), 1626; VIII, 9045; X, 1202, 5829; XI, 395, 1711 (?), 2698; XIV, 3626 (?); cf. no. 43.
149.	primus pilus	tribunus militum; *C.I.L.* III, 381; V, 533; IX, 798, 996; X, 1262, 4868, 7348; XI, 712, 1056 (?), 3801; XII, 2455, 4371 (?); Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1899, no. 176.
150.	primus pilus	tribunus militum (cohortis); *C.I.L.* XI, 6055.
151.	protector	praefectus legionis; *C.I.L.* III, 10406.
152.	quaestionarius	commentariensis.[1] *C.I.L.* II, 4156.
153.	secutor tribuni (coh. urb.)	optio valetudinarii; *C.I.L.* IX, 1617.
154.	secutor tribuni (coh. vig.)	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2987.
155.	sesquiplicarius (alae)	duplicarius (alae); *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XII (1893), *Korrespondenzblatt*, 231. See note to no. 79 in this table.
156.	signifer	aquilifer; *C.I.L.* V, 3375, 5832.
157.	signifer	centurio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 11301 (= 217); XII, 3177.
158.	signifer	optio navalium; *C.I.L.* VI, 414; *C.I.Rh.* 1301, 1302. See von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* p. 16.
159.	signifer (coh. praet.)	beneficiarius praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* VI, 2794; IX, 5839; XI, 710; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 993 (= *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1899, no. 190).
160.	signifer (coh. praet.)	curator fisci (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* II, 2610; III, 7334; VI, 3661; X, 1763.
161.	signifer (coh. praet.)	evocatus; *C.I.L.* VI, 2379 a, 2–21 and 5–51; *C.I.L.* VI, 2578. See von Domaszewski, *op. cit.* p. 91.

[1] We have in the inscription the following words: *com(mentariensi) leg(ionis) (Septimae) G(eminae) f(idelis) quaestionario.* . . . Here, as in the case of the *beneficiarius* (no. 14 in this table), mentioning only the legion to which he belonged, we cannot be certain whether the *commentariensis* was in the service of the legate or prefect of the legion. It is even possible that he was detailed for service on the staff of the province, the mention of the legion serving only to identify the man, not forming part of his title. According to Mommsen (*E. E.* IV (1881), p. 421) *quaestionarii* were found only on the staff of *legati Augusti*, who were governors of provinces. But Cauer (*E. E.* IV (1881), p. 421) supposes that we have here an example of a *quaestionarius legionis*; that is, *quaestionarius legati legionis*. The offices in the inscription are given in the descending order. The relative position of *quaestionarius* in the provincial *officium* or staff is shown by *C. I. L.* VIII, 2751.

162.	signifer (coh. urb.)	curator fisci (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* VIII, 4874; IX, 1617.
163.	signifer (numeri)	optio *C.I.L.* III, 11135. See note to no. 79.
164.	singularis consularis	decurio (alae);[1] *C.I.L.* III, 3494 (decurio ex sing.), 10257 (= III, 3272) (dec. alae ex sing. cos.), 14513 (decurio ex singularibus); Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 1125 (dec. alae sing. cos.).
165.	singularis consularis	decurio (cohortis); *C.I.L.* III, 3350, 14693 (?). See note on preceding promotion.
166.	singularis praefecti praetorio . . .	optio (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* III, 7334.
167.	singularis praefecti praetorio . . .	tesserarius (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2794; IX, 5839; XI, 5646.
168.	singularis tribuni (coh. praet.) . .	tesserarius (coh. praet.); Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 993 (= Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1899, no. 190).
169.	singularis tribuni (coh. praet.) . .	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* III, 7334; X, 410.
170.	singularis tribuni (coh. urb.) . . .	beneficiarius tribuni (coh. urb.); *C.I.L.* IX, 1617
171.	speculator	centurio (hastatus); *N.S.* 1883, p. 458.
172.	speculator	commentariensis (consularis); *C.I.L.* III. 2015.
173.	speculator	cornicularius (legionis); *C.I.L.* VIII, 702.
174.	speculator (coh. praet.)	a questionibus praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* VI, 2755.
175.	strator	decurio alae; *C.I.L.* VIII, 9370.
176.	subprinceps peregrinorum	princeps peregrinorum; *C.I.L.* VI, 354.
177.	tesserarius	eques (coh. praet.); *C.I.L.* VI, 2672.
178.	tesserarius	optio; *C.I.L.* VIII, 11301 (= VIII, 217).
179.	tesserarius (coh. praet.)	beneficiarius praefecti praetorio; *C.I.L.* III, 644 (?), 2887 (?); XI, 20.

[1] In the immediate service of the *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, the governor of an imperial province, were detachments of picked horsemen and chosen footmen, the so-called *numerus equitum singularium* and the *numerus peditum singularium*. The former were selected from the auxiliary cavalry, the latter from the auxiliary infantry. The inscriptions permit no distinction to be drawn between these two bodies. One might assume that the *equites singulares* would be promoted to the position of decurion in an auxiliary cavalry troop, the *pedites singulares* to that of centurion in a cohort. But the *equites singulares* in the service of the provincial governor, like those at Rome in the headquarters of the emperor, the *equites singulares Augusti*, had their own decurions who, in some cases, perhaps, were chosen from their own number. See Henzen, *Annali dell' Ist.* LVII (1885), p. 280, no. 29.

180. tesserarius (coh. praet.) . . . . evocatus ; *C. I. L.* VI, 2454.
181. tesserarius (coh. praet.) . . . . optio (coh. praet.) ; *C. I. L.* II, 2610; VI, 2794 ; IX, 1609, 5839 ; Brambach, *C. I. Rh.* 993 (= Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1899, no. 190).
182. tesserarius (coh. praet.). . . . . signifer (coh. praet.) ; *C. I. L.* X, 1763.
183. tesserarius (coh. urb.) . . . . . optio (coh. urb.) ; *C. I. L.* IX, 1617.
184. tesserarius (coh. vig.) . . . . . optio (coh. vig.) ; *C. I. L.* XI, 1438.
185. tribunus (coh. praet.) . . . . . praefectus cohortis ; *C. I. L.* V, 6478.
186. tribunus (coh. praet.) . . . . . praefectus legionis ; *C. I. L.* XI, 2704 ; XIV, 3626 ; Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1356.
187. tribunus (coh. praet.) . . . . . praefectus vigilum ; *C. I. L.* XI, 1836.
188. tribunus (coh. praet.) . . . . . tribunus militum (legionis) ; *C. I. L.* XI, 395.
189. tribunus (coh. urb.) . . . . . praepositus numeri ; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1889, no. 187.
190. tribunus (coh. urb.) . . . . . tribunus (coh. praet.) ; *C. I. L.* III, 3126 ; V, 534, 867, 930, 7003 ; VI, 1626, 1636 ; IX, 4678 ; X, 795[2] ; X, 1187 (cf. VI, 1056; IX, 1582 and 1583), 4872, 5829 ; XI, 395, 2704 ; XIV, 3626.
191. tribunus (coh. vig.) . . . . . tribunus (coh. urb.) ; *C. I. L.* V, 534, 867, 930, 7003 ; VI, 1626, 1636; X, 1187 (cf. VI, 1056 ; IX, 1582 and 1583), 5829 ; XI, 395, 1836, 2698 ; XIV, 3626.
192. tribunus militum (cohortis) . . . praefectus (alae) ; *C. I. L.* III, 1193, 8046 ; VIII, 2394 (cf. 2395), 9358, 17904 ; IX, 262, 5357 ; X, 4873, 6426; XI, 709, 5632, 5669, 6337 ; XIV, 171 ; Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1327 ; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R. A.* 1888, no. 66 ; 1889, no. 11 ; *Mitth. Griech. Abth.* XI, p. 262.
193. tribunus militum (cohortis) . . . tribunus militum ; *C. I. L.* II, 2213, 3851 ; III, 320, 386 ; X, 4579 ; XI, 1937, 6117 ; *C. I. G.* 6771 ; Dessau, *op. cit.* 2700.
194. tribunus militum . . . . . praefectus (alae) ; *C. I. L.* II, 1086, 2103, 2637, 4239, 4251 ; III, 320, 386, 388, 600, 5211 (cf. 5212), 5044, 5214 (cf. 5215), 5331, 5775 (cf. 5776), 6075, 7130 ; V, 875, 2841, 3356, 5266 ; VI, 1449, 1523, 1607, 1625 a–b ; VIII, 619, 8934, 9990, 10500, 17900, 20139 (= 8323) ; IX, 996, 1619, 2355,

THE ROMAN ARMY.

CLASSIS		NUMERI	ORIAE		COHORTES URBANAE				COHORTES VIGILUM			
									PRAEFECTUS VIGILUM			
		PRAEFECTUS GENTIS										
		PRAEPOSITUS NUMERI										
							TRIBUNUS COHORTIS URBANAE					PRAEPOSITUS STATORUM
											TRIBUNUS COHORTIS VIGILUM	
												PROTECTOR
						CENTURIO						
												CENTURIO STATORUM
										CENTURIO		
												CORNICULARIUS PRAEFECTI ANNONAE
CENTURIO CLASSIS	NAVARCHUS											
				VEXILLARIUS EQUITUM	CORNICULARIUS PRAEFECTI URBI							
				OPTIO EQUITUM			CORNICULARIUS TRIBUNI	OPTIO AB ACTIS URBIS	CORNICULARIUS PRAEFECTI VIGILUM			
						CURATOR FISCI						
						SIGNIFER						
			LIBRARIUS IN PRAETORIO	EQUES		OPTIO						
			ARCHITECTUS		A QUAESTIONIBUS PRAEFECTI URBI	TESSERARIUS				VEXILLARIUS		
							BENEFICIARIUS TRIBUNI			OPTIO		
							SINGULARIS TRIBUNI			TESSERARIUS		
		SIGNIFER						OPTIO CARCERIS			BENEFICIARIUS TRIBUNI	
		CUSTOS ARMORUM					SECUTOR TRIBUNI	OPTIO VALETUDINARII			SECUTOR TRIBUNI	
		LIBRARIUS										

		2568, 3610, 4753, 5363 (cf. 5364,) 5439; XI, 393, 969, 1597, 3337, 4367, 5213, 5959, 6011, 6033; XII, 392, 1357; XIII, 1680 (= Dessau, *op. cit.* I, no. 1390); XIV, 2495; *C.I.G.* 3991 (see Hirschfeld, *Verwaltungsgeschichte*, p. 247); Dessau, *op. cit.* no. 2674, 2700, 2723; Brambach, *C.I.Rh.* 896; Cagnat, *L'Ann. Épigr. R.A.* 1889, no. 177; 1890, no. 151; 1892, no. 39; 1893, nos. 91 and 120; 1894, no. 158; 1896, no. 10; *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst* XVIII (1899), *Korrespondenzblatt*, no. 58.
195.	tribunus militum	praefectus castrorum; *C.I.L.* III, 381; IX, 798, 3672; X, 1262; XI, 1056; X, 4868.
196.	tribunus militum	tribunus (coh. vig.); *C.I.L.* XI, 1836.
197.	tribunus militum (cohortis) . . .	praepositus numeri; *C.I.L.* VIII, 9047.
198.	vexillarius equitum (coh. praet.) . .	curator fisci (coh. praet.); *B.C.* 1899, p. 43.
199.	vexillarius equitum (cohortis) . . .	decurio (cohortis); *C.I.L.* III, 8762.

ROMAN MONUMENTAL ARCHES

THE purpose of the present paper is to discuss briefly the origin of the so-called "triumphal arch," and to describe in chronological order such examples as still remain, or have been accurately described before their destruction.

The monuments in question consist of large, free-standing bases for statues, pierced by one or more passageways, and placed generally over a road. The façades visible from the road are decorated with pilasters, or with columns, either engaged or free, and often with a great variety of ornamental detail and reliefs. The sides are usually left plain, and on this account the monuments may to some degree be considered as sections of a wall, or better yet, as sections of an arcade. In the Janus arches, which have passageways intersecting at right angles, all four sides are treated as of equal, or of nearly equal importance.

In a few cases city gates have the form and decoration of monumental arches, and on this account will be included in this paper. With these exceptions it seems best to exclude city gates from our discussion. The majority of them have no more claim to consideration in this connection than have the arched entrances to any Roman monument, as, for example, the Colosseum. In recent years two important lists of arches[1] have been published, both purporting to give merely the monumental examples, but in reality making little distinction between the two classes of structures. The list of Professor Frothingham contains 466 numbers, and embraces everything from a beam placed over a road in the time of the Kings (*tigillum sororium*), down to a city gate in Spain, known only from an inscription, and dating from 589 A.D. On the whole the list is very accurate, and has been of great assistance in making the present compilation. To obtain such a mass of material, Professor Frothingham has gone carefully over a large number of works of travel, and has noted every reference to gates or arches. Especially in the case of the East has this process been fruitful, but the result is misleading. The present list omits all arches unless they have been visited and described in some detail by careful modern explorers. Doubtless this method will lead to the omission of some important remains, but on the whole greater accuracy will ensue. The majority of the arches described have been visited by the writer.

The function of the free-standing arches was to bear inscriptions, bas-reliefs, and statues, either of the emperor, of members of the imperial family, or of private individuals.[2] They had no practical use, and were simply elaborate and honorary bases, similar in intention to the columns of Trajan and Antoninus Pius.

[1] Graef in Baumeister's *Denkmäler;* art. *Triumph- u. Ehrenbögen.* Frothingham, *A.J.A.* VIII, 1904, p. 1 seq.

[2] *e.g.* inscriptions from the arches of Pola (No. 8); Aix-les-bains (No. 9); Constantine (No. 64); Mustis (No. 70); Cillium (No. 79); Arch of Arcadius (No. 79, note 5). Also Tuccabor (N. Africa), *C.I.L.* VIII, 14851; and Zara (Dalmatia), *C.I.L.* III, 2922.

The term "triumphal arch," as generally applied to such structures, is misleading, and should be used with caution. To the Romans before the end of the Empire it was practically unknown. It occurs only once in their literature, and that at the end of the fourth century.[1] In addition the term is found in four inscriptions, but these are all late, and from North Africa.[2] On the other hand, arches were often decreed as the result of triumphs,[3] and bore triumphal ornaments,[4] but they were not erected till a later period and their function in this case was merely to bear the ornaments and statues.

The majority of the articles in the archaeological dictionaries and other publications bearing on the subject[5] assume that triumphal arches derive their origin from primitive constructions in wood, erected hastily over roads on the occasion of triumphs, and adorned with wreaths and trophies. In the course of time more durable material was employed for this purpose, it is said, and finally the arches were erected, as we know them, as permanent monuments. In the many descriptions of triumphs, however, and in other literature, we find no mention of arches except in the sense of bases, bearing inscriptions and statues. Moreover, as evidence of their real purpose we have the direct statement of Pliny:[6] *Columnarum ratio erat, attolli super ceteros mortales, quod et arcus significant novicio invento.* In other words, the custom of placing honorary statues on columns and in other conspicuous places had long been in vogue in Rome, but not till the end of the Republic was the arch used for the purpose, *novicio invento*, although arches had existed before. The early arches, or *fornices*, as they were often termed with no change of meaning, were rarely of a monumental character, but might be arched passageways of any kind.[7] The arch of Verres (71 B.C.) is the only example before imperial times of an arch bearing honorary statues.[8]

Professor Huelsen in a recent article[9] shows that the other pre-imperial arches

[1] Ammianus Marcellinus, XXI, 16, 15 (361 A.D.): *Constantius . . . pravo proposito . . . triumphalis arcus ex clade provinciarum, sumptibus magnis, erexit in Gallis et Pannoniis titulis gestorum adfixis. . . .*

[2] 1. *C.I.L.* VIII, 8321: Arch at Cuicul (216 A.D.). 2. *C.I.L.* VIII, 7094–7098: Arch at Cirta, for Caracalla. 3. *C.I.L.* VIII, 14728: Arch at Ghardimau (379–83 A.D.). 4. *C.I.L.* VIII, 1314–14817: Fragment of an inscription with late letters from Schauwasch.

[3] See Dion Cass. XLIX, 15; LI, 19; LVI, 17; LX, 22. Also Tac. *Ann.* II, 41; XIII, 41.

[4] *C.I.L.* XI, 1421 (4 A.D.): *Utique (arc)us celeberrimo coloniae nostrae loco constituatur ornatu(s sp)oleis devictarum aut in fidem receptarum ab eo gentium, super eu(m st)atua pedestris ipsius triumphali ornatu circaque eam duae eq(uest)res inauratae Gai et Luci Caesarum statuae ponantur.*

See also Martial, VIII, 65, referring to an arch erected in honor of the return of Domitian in 93 A.D., and bearing a quadriga drawn by elephants; and Juvenal, X, 136, *summo tristis captivus in arcu*, and note the reliefs with chained captives, etc. at Orange, Carpentras, and St. Remy, and the frequent occurrence of Victories in the spandrels.

[5] *e.g.* Durm, *Baukunst d. Römer*, p. 350; Gaudet in Daremberg et Saglio, I, p. 391.

[6] Plin. *N.H.* XXXIV, 27.

[7] From two Spanish milestones (*C.I.L.* II, 4701, *a Baete et Jano August.*; and *C.I.L.* II, 4702, *ab arcu unde incipit Baetica viam Aug(ustam)* [*restituit.*]), we see that the words *Janus* and *arcus* were sometimes used interchangeably as well.

[8] Cic. *Verr.* II, i, 154. This arch is known only from this one reference: *Huius fornix in foro Syracusis est, in quo nudus filius stat, ipse autem ex equo nudatam ab se provinciam prospicit.*

[9] *Festschrift zu Hirschfelds 60tem Geburtstage*, p. 423.

were probably small and unimportant. They were six in number, and all situated in Rome. Three of them are known only from a reference in Livy,[1] who says they were erected in 196 B.C. by L. Stertinius, from spoils won during the Spanish campaign. They were surmounted by gilded statues. Of the character of these statues we have no further knowledge. From the situation of two of the arches before the small temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium, we may reasonably suppose that they were small, and it is possible that they served as gateways to the temple enclosures.

The fourth of these arches also is known from Livy.[2] It was erected by P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major beside the road leading to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. It was ornamented with seven statues and two horses, all of which were gilded, but that these *signa aurata* were honorary statues can by no means be shown. They may have been very small.

The fifth arch is mentioned only by Orosius (V, 9, 2), *Gracchus (fugit) per gradus qui sunt super Calpurnium fornicem.* In this case the author is of dubious authority, and the text does not state that the arch stood there at the time of Gracchus. It might easily have been a later construction, and have been mentioned merely to locate the steps. This point has hitherto been overlooked.

The sixth of these arches, and the only one of which any remains are left, was erected in the Forum in 121 B.C. by Quintus Fabius Maximus in memory of his successful campaign against the Allobroges.[3] From the many references in literature to the location of the arch,[4] it is evident that the group of fragments found in 1882[5] belongs to this monument. These fragments are now lying beside the Sacra Via east of the Regia. They consist of several large blocks of tufa and travertine, among which are nine travertine voussoirs, with a two-stepped archivolt in high relief. From the curve of these it has been calculated that the passageway had a breadth of about 4.70 m. The fragments are not *in situ*, and the literary references and reports of the excavations locate the original situation only approximately. It may be assumed that the arch once spanned the Sacra Via somewhere near the present location of the remains. References to finds made in 1540–1546 show that still more was then in existence. At that time also were found several fragments of inscriptions,[6] which are preserved only in copy, referring to Q. Fabius Maximus, grandson of the original builder, to L. Aemilius Paullus and to P. Cornelius Scipio. The reports of the finds make no reference to the size of the letters, and it is impossible to decide whether the inscriptions stood above the arch under honorary statues, or in some position lower down, being merely memorial tablets.

This completes the list of pre-imperial arches. Only one bore honorary statues,

[1] Liv. XXXIII, 27, 6.

[2] XXXVII, 3, 15.

[3] See Mommsen, *Annali dell' Istit.* 1858, p. 175.

[4] Cic. *Planc.* 17; *Verr.* I, 19; *de Or.* II, 257, cum schol. p. 133, 393, 399, Or.; Seneca, *Dial.* II, 1, 3; schol. Pers. IV, 49; Treb. *Vita Salonini*, I, 4.

[5] See Lanciani, *N.S.* 1882, pp. 222–226. Additional fragments have been discovered in the course of the recent excavations of Sig. Boni.

[6] *C.I.L.* VI, 1303–1304.

and all were probably small and of simple construction. The material used was soft tufa, which was not suitable for durable constructions, or travertine, which, though harder, was too coarse for sculptured decoration. It was not until the beginning of the Empire that increased wealth and the influence of the East led to the introduction of marble, and made possible the richly carved structures of which so many remains still exist.

When the arches were placed over roads, triumphal processions naturally passed under them, but no especial significance was attributed to this fact. An exception might seem to be offered by the *Porta Triumphalis* at Rome.[1] Here began the triumphal processions after they had formed outside the city in the Campus Martius. But the emphasis in this case is not laid on the monument itself as a part of the triumph, but on the fact that at this point the procession entered the city and the triumph proper began. Moreover, the *Porta Triumphalis* is never termed *arcus*, and we know absolutely nothing of its size or ornamentation, and are only approximately certain of its location.[2]

The question of how much the Romans owed the Greeks in this use of the arch has been much discussed. The Greeks developed the three great orders of architecture, and they used to some extent the arch. At Oeniadae in Acarnania there are several city gates crowned by true arches which date from the third century B.C.[3] At Sicyon also, and in other Greek cities, true arches exist which date from an early period. At Ephesus the Austrians have recently found a gate with arched side openings dating from Hellenistic times.[4] A study of Hellenistic reliefs shows a limited use of the arch in gateways,[5] and one example[6] of what appears to be a filling of the spandrels with bas-reliefs. Of more frequent occurrence is the use of architectural features, such as isolated columns, as bases for statues. Later on in Pompeian frescoes this becomes very common, and amidst the maze of architectural details, the projecting ledges often become bases for statues and other objects. Such evidence, however, should be used with caution.[7] Another Greek practice which has bearing on this subject was the placing of arched tetrapylae at important street crossings in many of the cities of Asia Minor. Unfortunately very little remains of these to show their construction and decoration. From all of these elements the Romans drew, but as in the case of the amphitheatres, basilicas, and baths, the combination of the elements is their own invention, and the result is different from anything before known.

In examining the component parts of the Roman arches, we find in the same monument the Greek order applied both to a flat wall and to an arched opening, and these

[1] Cf. also its late parallel in the *Porta Aurea* at Constantinople.

[2] From Joseph. *Jud.* VII, 5, 4, we learn that it lay near the Villa Publica, between this, the temple of Isis, and the Circus Flaminius.

[3] Powell, *A.J.A.* VIII, 1904, p. 137 seq.

[4] Not yet published in detail. See *Jahrb. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.* 1900, Beibl. 89.

[5] See Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, pls. XXIII, LXXXIX.

[6] *Ibid.* pl. LXXXIX.

[7] In a recent article (*Festschrift zu Hirschfelds 60tem Geburtstage*, p. 417) Professor Loewy shows an instance of an arched construction bearing an equestrian statue, and argues from this that it must reproduce a practice which was much earlier than is generally admitted, since probably this detail was borrowed with most of the others from earlier prototypes. The theory is ingenious, but the evidence as yet seems too scanty to be of much value.

two separate elements so harmoniously coördinated that the resultant type of building has served as a model for architects ever since.

As regards the effect upon the beholder, the first steps in thus changing the structural meaning of the Greek order were not quite as drastic as they are generally represented. In the systems of decoration involving engaged columns, with the corresponding members of the entablature merely indicated against a flat wall, these members produce an effect quite apart from their real structural value. When part of a known construction is before the eyes, the imagination instinctively fills in that which is lacking, and in the case in question, the wall, which is the real supporting member, assumes a relatively unimportant position. This is especially true in the early arches of which the flat surfaces were left undecorated. The introduction of reliefs destroyed more and more the illusion, and about the time of Hadrian the last attempt at deception was given up by the separation of the columns from the wall. Henceforth over these free-standing columns the entablature projects as a ledge, which sometimes bore statues, but which has no connection with the arch itself in any structural sense.

Naturally at different periods, and even in the structures of any given period, the details vary greatly, but almost without exception the general scheme of decoration resolves itself into a frame, consisting of pilasters, or of columns which were either engaged or free-standing, single or double, and with the outermost either on, or near, the outer corner of the pier. These supports bear the main entablature, above which an attic supported quadrigae, statues, and trophies. In no case have any of these last-mentioned decorations survived *in situ* to the present day, but numerous representations on coins show how frequently they were employed. As was stated above, the columns and other members have little or no structural connection with the arch proper, which consists merely of a huge, rectangular block of concrete or masonry, through which is cut a vaulted passageway.

For the ornamentation of the ends of the passageway the Greek orders were again adopted. The architrave was bent to form the archivolt. At the four corners of the opening were placed impost supports, consisting generally of pilasters, with or without bases, either facing the façade (Gavii, No. 19), or the passageway (Titus, No. 28), or else completely sheathing the corner (Orange, No. 17), and provided either with capitals, as in the early arches (Susa, No. 4) and in some later arches which follow no given rule (Announa II, No. 58), or more generally with a simple moulding as support for the archivolt. This moulding was either adapted to the pilaster as its capital, springing directly from the wall (Rimini, No. 1), or else it was continued through the passageway as marking the entire length of the impost of the vaulting (Orange, No. 17). Variations in this custom occur frequently, the impost moulding being continued as an ornamental band in the opposite direction along the façade, or often carried completely around the pier. This last is very common in North Africa. In still other cases the impost moulding is present with no supporting pilaster (Ancona, No. 34), but often the presence of a base moulding indicates the corner of the pier as fulfilling the function of a pilaster (Arch of Constantine, No. 78). Very frequently the passageway is not vaulted except for the archivolt at either extremity, and is

provided with perpendicular walls and a ceiling (Lambèse III, No. 55), but even in this case the impost moulding is often continued through the passageway, showing that the idea of the vault is the primary one. The vaultings were often richly coffered (Orange, No. 17) and the side walls used for reliefs (Titus, No. 28; Beneventum, No. 33).

The nature and decoration of the various members involved in this scheme of construction will be taken up in the discussion of the actually existing specimens. Suffice it to say here that the general development corresponds to that in the other varieties of Roman buildings, passing from simple forms, with little play of light and shade, to those in which the coördination and decoration of the members is arranged with regard to the best effect, and in which the projections are in proper proportion to the mass of the monument, not detracting from the enjoyment of the whole, and yet giving a sense of variety. Finally, in the structures of the later periods, a superabundance of detail destroys the effect which the otherwise harmonious proportions might produce.

We see from the above that the decoration of the façades of the monuments resolves itself in most cases into something like a framed picture, in which the central portion, that is to say the decoration of the opening, is framed by the members of the main supports and entablature. This, of course, refers only to arches of one opening, but may be extended to apply to those of two or three, in which case the treatment of the outer piers is the same as above noted, while the central pier or piers are provided generally with but a single support, which serves as part of the frame for the members on either side.

In the early arches there was usually no connection between the central portion and the outer frame. The keystone received no special treatment, and did not reach the main architrave. The spandrels were left free. Later the spandrels were often decorated, and either the crown of the arch was pushed up until it reached the architrave, or else the keystone was projected in the shape of a console to reach that point, which thus received an additional support. In such arches the archivolt, instead of being merely a bent architrave, assumes more nearly the function of a column, and the distinction between frame and framed portion becomes less sharp.

Above the main supports the entablature was either carried in a straight line (St. Remy I, No. 14; Arch of Gallienus, No. 71), or, as was generally the rule, was projected as a small ledge. In some instances this ledge projects above the individual columns or pilasters and is very narrow (Adalia, No. 37; Arch of Septimius Severus, No. 60). In other cases it is broad, and extends over the two central columns together (Orange, No. 17; Arch of Titus, No. 28), or over the pair on either side of the passageway (Pola, No. 8; Haidra, No. 54; Tebessa, No. 61). Above the main entablature was generally an attic. This was replaced in some early arches (Pola, No. 8; Aix-les-bains, No. 9; Orange, No. 17; Saintes, No. 24) by a row of pedestals for statues. Some early arches in Europe (Rimini, No. 1; Orange, No. 17; Verona, No. 19), and some later ones in North Africa (Mactaris I, No. 35) and the East (Antinoë, No. 38; Athens, No. 40), have triangular pediments. Of the elaborate bronze statues and chariots which crowned the whole, only a few fragments are preserved in some of the museums. According to tradition the bronze horses of St. Mark's in Venice came from an arch in the Forum of Trajan at Rome.

Of the seventy-nine arches described in this list, forty-six bear inscriptions. Of these inscriptions thirty-five may be at least approximately dated, and it is thus possible to arrange a chronological series of great accuracy.[1] As an aid in determining the origin and significance of the monuments, the inscriptions are of much less value, except in a negative sense, for they vary in no important detail from thousands of others.[2] This only confirms what has already been noticed in regard to the lack of literary evidence. In neither case does the commonly accepted designation of the monuments as *triumphal* receive support. It may be surmised from the late inscriptions from Africa with the words *arcus triumphalis*, that prototypes having this designation existed in Rome, but this use of the term is late, and has no connection with the original significance of the monuments. Later on, the descriptions of Rome refer to all arches indiscriminately as triumphal, under the influence doubtless of the reliefs on the Arch of Titus, and the inscription on that of Constantine. Still later, in Renaissance times, arches were considered as indispensable adjuncts of triumphs, and it is this later conception of their function which has influenced all subsequent study of the subject.

[1] The position of the inscriptions of the arches does not offer the criteria for dating which might be expected. An examination of all the extant inscriptions shows an almost equal use of attic, frieze, and architrave, and also shows that at no given period was any particular position in vogue.

[2] In a paper read before the archaeological congress in Athens in April, 1905, and since published in the *Revue Archéologique* (vii, 1906), Professor Frothingham outlines his proposed interpretation of the arches as monuments of civic liberty, and quotes several inscriptions (Vaga, Dougga, Kasserin, Uzappa, Antioch, Patara, Tebessa, etc.) which mention the arches of those places as dedicated to the local deity or genius of the city. The arches, then, are to typify civic independence, and can in many cases be dated by determining at what period the place became of importance. The promised book on the subject is awaited with great interest. From the data given in the preliminary paper the evidence seems scanty. The inscriptions quoted are few in number, and are all provincial. When a city became of importance, it naturally could afford to build an arch, but this does not prove that the arch was built to typify the city's importance.

FIRST PERIOD

REIGN OF AUGUSTUS

In taking up the description of the many extant arches we shall describe first with some detail the examples which are accurately datable, dividing them rather broadly into periods, and then by analogies of style connect with these as many of the other examples as possible. The reign of Augustus may be taken as marking the first great period in the construction of arches. We have seen that before this period the arches were few in number and known merely from brief references in literature. Of the arches themselves the few fragments of the Arch of Fabius are all that are left. In the period under consideration, few of the arches can be definitely dated, but on the other hand the characteristics of style are strongly marked, and the results attained may be accepted with confidence. The most characteristic type is that of the arch at Susa, with one opening, and with engaged columns sheathing the outer corners of the piers. The various architectural features which belong to an early period will be spoken of in connection with the examples on which they occur.

No. 1. Rimini (Italy). The first arch to which a definite date may be given is that of Augustus at Rimini, which according to the fragmentary inscription[1] was erected in 27 B.C. The monument forms a link between gates and arches, but has much in common with the free-standing arches. The sides were connected with the city wall, but in other respects the similar façades and the variety of ornamental detail give it a monumental character, which the early date makes of especial importance to this study. The top and sides have been greatly injured, but enough remains to give a fair idea of the original construction.

The arch has one opening 6.84 m. broad and 4.01 m. deep. The voussoirs are very large and cut to follow the curve of the two-stepped archivolt, which has only one-third their width. This gives an impression of weakness, as the outer line of the voussoirs cuts into the architrave above and the columns at the side. Probably when the arch was new the line of the jointing was less conspicuous. The keystone is ornamented in its upper portion by a bull's head in relief, which projects from, and slightly below, the architrave. An elaboration of this motive in later arches gave the console joining the inner and outer frames. Below the archivolt the impost moulding sheathes the corner in the shape of a pilaster capital, although there is no pilaster indicated below, and although the vaulting is continued through the opening with no inner archivolt (cf. Ancona, No. 34). In the spandrels are medallions with heads of Jupiter and Venus on the outer façade, and of Neptune and Minerva on the side facing the town. The outer frame consists of a channelled Corinthian half-column in the centre of each pier, resting on a low base with upper and lower moulding which encircles the pier on three sides. The entablature consists of a two-stepped architrave, plain frieze, and dentilated cornice.

[1] *C.I.L.* XI, 365.

It projects over the engaged columns, and stops dead against the wall, which is unornamented from this point to the outer corners of the piers. Another cornice, from a point just inside the projecting portion, enclosed a small tympanum, a sign of an early period (Orange, Gavii at Verona, etc.).

The attic, which bore the inscription, is separated by three courses of stone from the main cornice. Part of the inscription remains, but the entire upper portion of the monument has disappeared.[1]

No. 2. AOSTA (Italy). To be closely connected in point of time with the foregoing is the arch of Aosta. This arch is of a purely monumental character. The entire upper portion above the frieze of the Doric entablature has disappeared, so that no inscription remains, but the awkwardness of such details as the broad archivolt cut by the columns, and the very short and broad impost pilasters, together with the presence of such early characteristics as the common base for the inner and outer frames, make probable the commonly accepted theory that the arch was erected shortly after the founding of Aosta in 25 B.C.

The arch rests on a concrete base and a three-course foundation. The material is a rather coarse pudding-stone of local provenience. The piers are built up solid and have no inner chambers, as was common later. The arch has one opening 8.86 m. broad and 8.87 m. deep. Completely encircling the piers, which are 5.31 m. in breadth, is a rather high pedestal with a moulding at the top and at the bottom, which acts as a common base for the impost and column systems. On account of this high pedestal the impost pilasters become much stunted. They are six in number, four of which sheathe the corner in the usual manner. The other two support the impost moulding in the centre of the passageway, a motive which occurs nowhere else. They are all very short and have plain, slightly projecting shafts and Corinthian capitals, above which runs the impost moulding. This use of both impost moulding and capital is generally early, and not at all common (Aquino, No. 3). The archivolt is too broad for the size of the arch, and above the impost is cut into for one-half of its width by the inner columns of the façade. The treatment in the vertical sense is better, as the crown of the archivolt reaches the architrave without cutting into it.

The main supports of both façades consist of four three-quarter unfluted Corinthian columns, the outer two of which are on the corners. In addition, each side of the arch has in the centre a similar half-column corresponding to the pilasters within the passageway. For this feature also there is no exact parallel (cf. the pair of columns at Orange). Between the columns on either side of the opening are shallow, narrow niches, fairly high up, which probably contained ornaments of some description. High and narrow niches are common in early arches. Later the feeling was for horizontal lines. Above the Corinthian columns runs a Doric entablature, consisting of a narrow architrave and a frieze with triglyphs and metopes. This combination of orders is rather unusual, but not without parallel, especially in the East (cf. Patara, Antinoë). The entablature projects over the corner columns and then over the inner

[1] For drawings of this and other Italian arches see Rossini, *Gli archi trionfali di Roma*, Rome, 1836. For a discussion of some of the architectural features see Wölfflin, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, XVI, 1893, p. 11 seq.

two, which are thus coupled together. In later arches the pair at either side of the opening was usually coupled together. Of the attic nothing remains, though early drawings show that one once existed.[1]

No. 3. AQUINO (Italy).[2] Certain early characteristics of the arch at Aquino seem to connect it more closely with the arch at Aosta than with any other, a supposition which is supported historically by the prosperous condition of the place at the time in question. Of this arch the entire upper portion above the columns has disappeared, and the sides are buried to one-half the height of the impost supports. Through the centre at present flows a mill-race. The arch is of small dimensions and has but one opening. The archivolt is undecorated and marked only by the line of the voussoirs, which are cut to follow its curve. The unchannelled impost columns are nearly free from the corner. They have Ionic capitals with three volutes, bearing a two-stepped impost moulding which springs directly from the corner columns of the arch and runs through the vaulted passageway. On each of the outer corners of the piers are two intersecting, engaged, unfluted Corinthian columns, of which those on the façades project for over half their diameter. Those on the ends are in lower relief, and of these not much over a third projects. The distance between the columns on

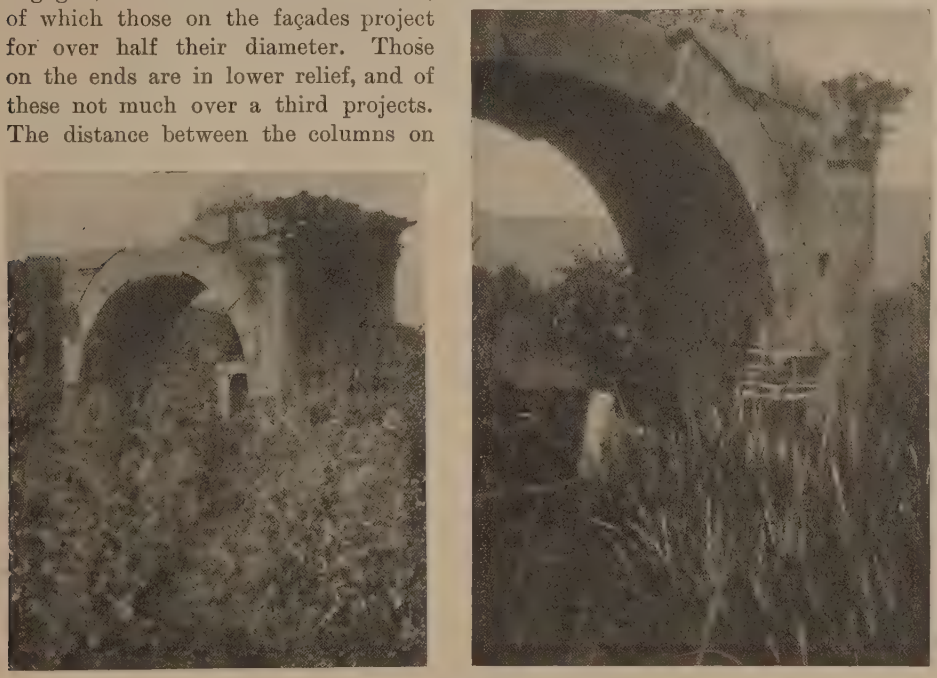


FIGURE 1.—THE ARCH AT AQUINO

the sides of the arch is 1.035 m. Corner columns of this type find their only parallel in arch construction at Rheims (No. 67), and to a much less degree at Laodicea (No. 68). At this last place only portions of the capitals intersect.

[1] For further details see Promis, *Le Antichità d' Aosta*, Turin, 1862. [2] See Figure 1.

No. 4. Susa (Italy). The next arch which may be definitely dated is that of Susa. From the inscription we learn that it was erected in 9–8 B.C. by the neighboring tribes under the praefecture of Cottius, in honor of Augustus. The material is white marble from neighboring quarries, resting on a base of three courses of gray calcareous schist, which is used also in the pedestals and plinths of the columns. The blocks of marble were bound by iron clamps covered with lead. Most of these clamps have been removed, causing the many holes which are visible to-day.

The arch has one opening, 5.86 m. broad and 4.21 m. deep. At the impost of the three-stepped archivolts are slightly salient, unfluted pilasters, sheathing the corners and provided with Corinthian capitals. A marked advance over the previous arches is shown by the level of the bases of these pilasters, which is that of the base instead of the top of the pedestals of the columns, and by the narrower archivolt cut on voussoirs of the same width. The crown reaches the architrave, but the keystone does not project as a console, as was common later. The passageway is vaulted for its entire extent. The line of the impost is marked only by a slight fillet connecting the impost capitals. The outer frame consists of four fluted Corinthian columns, so placed on the outer corners of the piers that one-fourth of the flutings is concealed. The capitals are well worked out. The height of the columns is 7.56 m. They rest on projecting pedestals which spring from the wall of the façade at a distance of about their own width from the imposts. On the ends of the arch they are prolonged from one corner column to the other. Above the columns, the bands of the three-stepped architrave decrease in width from the bottom toward the top, in opposition to the usual rule, and the two lower bands incline outward from the top toward the bottom. The entire frieze is carved with reliefs. The cornice has between the dentils a great variety of rosettes. In the second compartment on the west side, near the northwest angle, is an eagle. None of these members project over the columns. Above is an attic, extending the entire width of the arch. On either face of this were identical inscriptions. Only the matrices for the bronze letters remain. The inscriptions are much injured, and a comparison of the two sides is necessary to secure the complete text.[1]

The execution of the reliefs on the frieze is poor compared with the architectural excellence of the arch. On the west side (and probably formerly on the east, though nearly all traces of it have disappeared) is represented the drawing up of the treaty of alliance between Augustus and Cottius, who are shown sitting at tables at either end of the relief. On the north and south faces are nearly identical representations of the suovetaurilia. On both reliefs are numerous figures of priests, attendants, warriors, and musicians. On the relief toward the south only are represented Castor and Pollux standing beside their horses, one at either extremity of the relief. In front of them are two figures clad in togas, with attendants, of whom one is probably Augustus and the other Cottius.[2]

No. 5. Arch of Augustus (Rome). Of all the arches of the Augustan age, only those of Rimini, Aosta, and Susa may be definitely dated. It remains now to connect as many as possible with these from analogies of style, or from the evidence

[1] *C.I.L.* V, 7231.

[2] See Terrero, *L'arc d'Auguste à Suse*, Turin, 1901.

of inscriptions or literature. Dion Cassius (LI, 19) mentions a *senatus consultum* granting to Augustus an arch in Brundisium and one in the Forum. This decree was passed in 30 B.C. In 20 B.C. another arch was decreed.[1] Whether these were actually erected, we have no means of knowing. There is a strong probability that the foundations of an arch situated in the Forum, between the temple of Castor and that of the deified Julius, should be identified with one of them. The concrete foundations show an arch of three openings. Upon this concrete still rest several large blocks of marble, exhibiting the careful workmanship of the Augustan age. The top moulding of the first course of stone has the simple graceful curve which marks infallibly the work of the best period, and as an added refinement of detail, the lower edge of the block above projects slightly to join the curve of the moulding below it. Two coins of the time of Augustus show arches with three openings.[2] As regards details, representations on coins should be used with caution. The smallness of the field led to a shorthand system of representing architectural features which is very apt to mislead. On the other hand, the fact that a coin represents a given construction is excellent evidence that such a building once existed.[3]

No. 6. PHILIPPI (Greece). The arch of the famous battle-field of Philippi should probably be classed among the early ones of this period. It stands two kilometers from the acropolis and had no connection with the wall, so that there seems no reason for its existence except as a memorial of the battle (42 B.C.). The simplicity of its construction is an argument in favor of this early dating. The only ornamentation consists of impost and corner pilasters of which the capitals have rows of large, flat-lying acanthus leaves and no corner volutes. The width of the opening is 4.98 m.; the depth between the pilasters 4.35 m. The two upper bands of the architrave are joined in the centre and once bore an inscription in metal letters, of which the traces are too thoroughly obliterated to admit of its being deciphered. The monument is now mainly destroyed. The vault has fallen as well as most of the entablature. It was built without cement, of huge white marble blocks in alternately wide and narrow courses.[4]

No. 7. CAPARRA (Spain). No accurate account of this memorial Janus arch has ever been published. Its decoration consists of engaged unfluted Corinthian columns resting on the same base as the projecting impost pilasters. Above each of these pilasters is a capital as well as an impost moulding (cf. Aquino, No. 3). On the inner corners of the piers are similar pilasters. Before the arch are two statue bases with inscriptions[5] showing it was dedicated by M. Fidius Macer to two individuals, probably his father and mother.

No. 8. POLA (Istria). Another early arch is that of the Sergii at Pola. From one of the memorial inscriptions[6] to a member of the XXIXth legion, which was disbanded by Augustus in 27 B.C., the date is to be placed at about that period. Only

[1] Dion Cass. LIV, 8. [2] See Cohen, *Aug.* n. 82; Babelon, *Vinicia*, n. 4.

[3] See Jordan, *Top. der Stadt Rom*, I, 2, p. 211; Richter, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, 1889, p. 151–162; Huelsen, *Röm. Mitth.*, 1889, p. 244.

[4] See Heuzey, *Mission archéologique de Macédoine*, Paris, 1876, p. 118.

[5] *C.I.L.* II, 834. See Laborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, Paris, 1806–1820, II, pl. 177. [6] *C.I.L.* V, 50.

one façade was ever finished. The other was left rough and was probably enclosed. The arch has one opening, of which the stepped archivolt does not quite reach the architrave. Below the impost moulding are pilasters, which have sculptured panels both on the façade and facing the passageway. The moulding is carried through to the opposite façade. On either side of the opening are two fluted Corinthian columns, rather near together, on a common pedestal, which by a projection also receives the impost pilaster. The outer column is on the corner. There are Victories sculptured in the spandrels, and the vaulting is richly coffered. The entablature projects over each pair of columns. The frieze has a sculptured design, except for the space occupied by the inscription, which reads as follows: *Salvia Postuma Sergi de sua pecunia.*[1] Above is a broad cornice and an attic with three projecting pedestals which bear inscriptions, and probably once supported statues (cf. Aix-les-bains, No. 9).[2]

No. 9. Aix-les-bains (France). On account of its simplicity of detail, and the excellent cutting of the letters in the inscriptions, the funerary arch at Aix-les-bains may also be ascribed to this period. By funerary is meant an arch which served as a family memorial, and bore inscriptions corresponding to those on the monuments in a modern cemetery. The arch has one opening 3.69 m. wide and 0.775 m. deep. The piers are very narrow and the impost moulding springs directly from the corner pilasters. On account of the shallowness of the arch the pilasters completely sheathe the outer ends of the piers. They have plain shafts and Roman Doric capitals, and rest upon the same plinth as the supporting wall of the impost, which has no base moulding (cf. Ancona, No. 34). The voussoirs have triangular ends, which dovetail into the stones of the spandrels. The archivolt was marked by an almost invisible rim, and a slightly retreating band below. The entablature on the west façade has a two-stepped archivolt and a plain frieze, which project over the corner pilasters. On the east façade the frieze contains eight niches for busts, as specified in the inscriptions under each niche on the architrave below. Above the entablature a low attic had six other inscriptions, two of which have been destroyed. All of the inscriptions refer to friends and relatives of the man whose name appears in large letters running across the spandrels and archivolt on both façades: *L. Pompeius Campanus vius fecit.*[3]

Nos. 10 and 11. St. Chamas (France). Of similar construction, but of more architectural beauty, are the two arches at St. Chamas in the south of France, placed one at either end of a Roman bridge over the Touloubre.[4] They are practically alike in every detail, so that a description of one will suffice. Here, too, the period is shown by the evidence of the excellently cut inscription, and the general simplicity of the architectural details. The opening is 3.555 m. broad and only 0.66 m. deep. The impost mouldings project from the piers above the slightly salient impost pilasters. The archivolt is sharply cut, and does not quite reach the architrave. The piers are broader than at Aix-les-bains, leaving 0.98 m. between the impost supports and the outer pilasters which sheathe the four outer corners. These are of the Corinthian order, with fluted shafts, cabled below. The entablature projects over the pilasters

[1] *C.I.L.* V, 50.

[2] See Th. Allason, *Picturesque Views of the Antiquities of Pola*, London, 1819, p. 18.

[3] *C.I.L.* XII, 2473.

[4] The distance between the arches is 22.785 m.

on the façades, but joins them on the ends, where they are but 0.485 m. apart. The frieze is ornamented with acanthus arabesques except for the portion occupied by the identical inscriptions on the outer face of each arch. The arrangement of the letters in the two inscriptions is different, and the one on the west face of the west arch is continued on the top band of the architrave. The inscription reads as follows[1]: *L. Donnius C. f. Flavos flamen Romae et Augusti testamento fierei iussit arbitratu C. Donnei Venae et C. Attei Rufei.* The cornice is completely covered with ornamental bands (egg and dart, etc.). Above the pilasters at both ends of both arches are low plinths bearing stone lions (four in all), of which one is said to be antique.[2]

The ornamental details on the cornice and frieze of the arches at St. Chamas seem to connect them closely with a series of arches also found in southern France, which have long been a puzzle to archaeologists. Numerous attempts at dating them have been made, with results varying about three centuries.[3] The arches in question are of comparatively simple design, but are ornamented with a profusion of detail found usually at a later period of the empire or in earlier monuments from farther east under the influence of the Alexandrian and Pergamenean schools. Graef,[4] misled by an erroneous attribution of the arch at St. Remy to 52 B.C.,[5] calls it the earliest known arch in Europe and thinks that there must have been prototypes in Alexandrian cities, which were introduced into the West by workmen who were exiled from Alexandria or were imported thence. We shall see in the discussion of the arch that the date assigned is too early. Moreover the Alexandrian influence, while unquestioned as regards details of ornamentation, is most problematic in regard to arch construction as practised by the Romans, who used such monuments, as we have seen, merely as bases, adapted to show off to advantage the ornamental details which were applied to the surface, or to support the statues, which were placed above, or in niches. The arches in question are now generally attributed to the reign of Augustus. Absolute accuracy of dating is neither possible nor necessary, and these, together with a few others with early characteristics, will be treated of as Augustan, although some may border closely on the next period.

No. 12. CAVAILLON (France). From the essentially similar treatment of the façades, the four-faced arch at Cavaillon should be closely connected with the two previously described. It has been moved from its original position and is much mutilated. The entire entablature and two of the archivolts have disappeared. The openings in their present condition average about 3.30 m. in width. The piers are very small, and with the exception of the impost supports, consist merely of Corinthian pilasters 0.705 m. broad, of which the shafts are entirely covered with excellently carved acanthus arabesques. From either side of these pilasters spring directly the ornate impost mouldings, of which the supports are undecorated and have no base moulding. The archivolt is entirely covered with ornamental bands. It is cut on vousspirs which follow its curve, and did not quite reach the architrave. In the small spandrels

[1] *C.I.L.* XII, 647.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See Courbaud, *Le bas-relief romain*, for references.

[4] In Baumeister, p. 1874.

[5] A dating derived from an inaccurate work of Gilles, *Précis des monuments triomphaux dans les Gaules*, Paris, 1873.

are figures of Victories. The voussoirs run through the opening, which is only 0.84 m. deep, and have on their under side three large square coffers placed diagonally in larger squares, which last are separated by bands of smaller coffers.

No. 13. Celenderis (Cilicia). This Janus arch is mentioned in this connection because of its similarity to the one just described. The date is less certain, as it lacks the well-cut decorative features. On the other hand it is better preserved, and has in addition to the similar lower members (*i.e.* corner Corinthian pilasters closely abutting against the impost moulding, and three-stepped archivolt), an entablature with a torus-shaped architrave, frieze, and ornate cornice, and above this the beginning of what was possibly a pyramidal cap (cf. Vienne, No. 18).

No. 14. St. Remy I (ancient Glanum, France). The so-called mausoleum of St. Remy is in reality only a Janus arch placed on a higher pedestal than usual, so that it cannot serve as a passageway. Its function was to serve as a base for two memorial statues, which stand above in a construction consisting of ten fluted Corinthian columns on a circular base, bearing a circular entablature with a scroll ornament on the frieze, and having a sugar-loaf cap with a scale-like covering. The base of the arch consists of several steps, above which is a high pedestal with small Ionic corner pilasters, between which are reliefs with battle scenes, the details of which continue over on the pilaster shafts. Between the capitals of the pilasters hang clumsy wreaths, held at three points by Cupids. This arrangement forms four loops of the wreaths, in each of which is a mask.

Above the pedestal is the square plinth upon which rests the arch. Upon the outer corners of the piers are four fluted three-quarter Corinthian columns. Within, the piers have straight sides and the ceiling is flat. The archivolt extends for about two-fifths the width of the piers. The impost moulding springs directly from the wall. The support below is salient only on the façade and is provided with a base moulding. The archivolt has a broad ornamental band and heads of Medusa in relief on the keystones. The frieze of the non-projecting entablature is ornamented with Sirens, Tritons, and sea-animals in relief. On the architrave on the east façade is the inscription, *Sex(tus)*, *L(ucius)*, *M(arcus)*, *Iuliei C(ai) f(iliei) parentibus sueis.*[1] The date, judging by the cutting of the letters and the use of *ei*, could be no later than the first portion of the first century A.D.

No. 15. St. Remy II (France). The arch of St. Remy stands in close relation to the monument just described and is probably of the same period. It has one opening 4.68 m. broad and rests on a projecting foundation of two courses, the lower of which is partly buried. Running completely around the piers is a base moulding which serves as lower moulding for the pedestals of the column system and projects as a base for the salient impost pilasters. These have plain shafts, to which is adapted as a capital the impost moulding, which springs from the wall of the façade, and is afterward carried through the passageway. This moulding has a narrow frieze decorated with weapons and sacrificial objects in relief. The archivolt projects slightly from the vaulting of the passageway, which has richly decorated hexagonal coffers. The outer face of the archivolt has a rather heavy relief representing flowers,

[1] *C.I.L.* XII, 1012.

fruits, leaves, and grapes. The under surface has a more graceful design consisting of a conventionalized scroll. The crown does not reach the architrave. In the spandrels are well-cut figures of Victories in low relief. On either side of the opening are two

FIGURE 2.—THE ARCH AT CARPENTRAS

engaged channelled columns, the innermost near the impost, the outer on the corner of the pier. The capitals and entablature have disappeared. The columns rest upon a plinth and pedestals, which not only project beneath them, but are also carried along the façades and ends of the piers in lower relief. Between the columns both on the façades and on the sides are bracket-like mouldings which bore well-executed reliefs.

Those on the façades remain and represent in each case two captives, one male and one female, standing chained to a trophy. The reliefs on the sides were framed by ornate pilasters, of which only the lower portion remains. The attention paid to the sides of this and the two following monuments is worthy of note. It shows a unity of treatment of the arch taken as a whole, which has no parallel in Italy until the Arch of Constantine. In many cases the reason for the neglect of the sides lies in the lack of depth in the monuments. Those under consideration are very deep and have broad surfaces on the sides, which are adapted to receive ornamentation.

No. 16. CARPENTRAS (France).[1] Of this arch the entablature and capitals of the columns have disappeared. The architectural features which remain correspond almost exactly to those at Susa (No. 4). There is a somewhat freer use of ornamental detail. Thus the impost pilasters have fluted shafts, which are cabled below, and on the sides of the arch between the columns are reliefs with trophies and captives similar to those of St. Remy II, but of poorer execution. The arch has one opening 3.55 m. broad and 3.87 m. deep. Unlike the arch at Susa, the archivolt projects from the vaulting of the passageway, giving an inner archivolt. To support this, the impost pilasters project from the wall. The impost moulding, which has various ornamented bands, is adapted to these as capitals, after which it is continued through the passageway with the same contours, but without ornamentation. The decorated archivolt did not reach the architrave. The engaged fluted corner columns are cabled below. Their pedestal continues across the end as at Susa, the only difference being that its lower moulding is continued around the piers, and serves as a base for the impost pilasters.

No. 17. ORANGE (France). The most imposing monument of this series, and one of the most elaborately ornamented arches in existence, is that of Orange. The date of this arch has long been a subject of controversy. On the north side are holes in the architrave which from their regularity were evidently formed by the nails by which the bronze letters of an inscription were attached. From these holes the beginning of an inscription to Tiberius[2] has been made out as follows: *August. f. divi Iuli nepoti August.* The letters, however, were affixed after the monument was completed, for they covered the decoration of the architrave. This makes it quite possible that the date of the arch falls in the reign of Augustus. In favor of this view might be noted the general heaviness of the proportions, such as the disproportionate mass of the entablature and attic, so that the main opening does not reach to one half the height of the monument. In spite of the over-decoration of later arches, the matter of proportion was more carefully worked out. Another awkward feature is the way the ends of the gables on the sides destroy the line of the cornice on the façades. There is also some carelessness in the minor details. Thus the architrave is not stepped, but has its bands of decoration cut into a plain surface. The arch is the first extant example with three openings. It might be noted here that there is often little difference in decoration between arches of one and of three openings. The smaller passageways may well be regarded as transformed niches. Doubtless the niche in the earlier monuments first gave the idea

[1] See Figure 2.

[2] *C.I.L.* XII, 1230.

for this development. The breadth of the central opening is 5.81 m.; that of the side 3.51 m. between the walls of the passageway. The crown of the smaller archivolts is higher than the level of the main impost. The treatment of the projecting imposts and archivolts, and of the inner vaulting is the same as at Carpentras (No. 16). On the outer and inner archivolts and on the impost mouldings are bands of flowers and fruits. On the pilaster shafts are arabesques. On either façade are four fluted Corinthian columns, of which two are between the main and the smaller openings, but are separated by some space from the imposts. The other two are on the outer corners. All are on projecting pedestals, of which the base mouldings continue around the piers. The entablature projects over the two central columns and has above them a gable, which reaches almost to the attic. The attic has one large pedestal in the centre, and one smaller one on either side. The entire space between the imposts of the smaller openings and the architrave is filled with a confused mass of Gallic weapons and military emblems pertaining to land battles. In the panels on either side of the gable are other groups with rostra, anchors, tridents, and various weapons used in naval encounters. In these some writers see Pergamenean influence.[1] On some of the shields are the names of the owners, as *Sacrovir*, *Boduacus*, *Mario*, etc.[2] The frieze has rather stiff groups of fighting warriors. On the north face this was never finished and the surface is left rough. On the large attic is a cavalry battle.

The other surfaces, such as the spandrels of the main opening, and the gable, have holes where bronze decorations were once affixed.

On the sides of the arch the pedestals are prolonged from one corner column to the other and bear in addition to the corner columns a unique feature in the shape of two similar columns at equal distances between them. The only parallel to this type of ornamentation is in the Janus arches, in the case of which a passageway is pierced between the two inner columns. Above each pair of these columns the entablature projects as a ledge. A gable extends from the outer corners to the same height as on the façade, because the distance between the outer columns on the ends is the same as that between the inner columns on the façades. Joining the projecting portions of the entablature, between the pairs of columns, an arched depression nearly fills the tympanum. The impost mouldings of the side arches are carried across the ends of the piers between the columns and serve as a base moulding for the reliefs above. These reliefs consist of trophies, which reach to the architrave, and have chained to them captives, similar to those at Carpentras and St. Remy. On the west end these reliefs are in part destroyed, and of the upper decoration but little remains. A door on this side leads to an inner room over the vaulting. The east end is better preserved. The frieze is ornamented with warriors as on the south façade. At either extremity of the gable are horns of plenty. Within the semicircular depression in the tympanum, of which the vaulting is decorated with stars, is a head with rays. Above, on either side of the gable, are figures of Sirens. Considerable portions of the arch as it stands have been restored. For further details the reader is referred to the excellent work of Caristie on the subject.[3]

[1] See Courbaud, *Le bas-relief romain*, Paris, 1899, p. 330 seq.

[2] *C.I.L.* XII, 1231.

[3] Caristie, *Monuments antiques à Orange*, Paris, 1856.

No. 18. Vienne (France). To be mentioned in this series of arches because of the general similarity of the architectural arrangement, although the working out of the details was never completed, is the four-faced arch at Vienne. The scheme of decoration is simple, resembling that at Susa and Carpentras. The three-quarter columns on projecting pedestals at the corners have at present roughly made Doric capitals, which were evidently intended to be worked over into better shape and probably into the Corinthian order. The impost pilasters are slightly salient on the façades only. The impost moulding tapers off on the piers instead of springing directly from the wall as an impost capital. In the passageway this moulding is continued almost to the inner corner of the pier, so that it joins the moulding of the corresponding side opening with its top member only. The passageways are not vaulted, but together with the central space have a flat roof. The undecorated archivolt is probably also unfinished. It has an unfinished keystone which projects upward to the architrave. The entablature projects over the corner columns. Above the cornice is a square plinth and a slender pyramid 3.78 m. square at the base and 15.5 m. high. The distance from the ground to the base of the pyramid is 7.745 m. For this type of construction it would be difficult to find an exact parallel.

No. 19. Arch of the Gavii, Verona (Italy). According to extant descriptions and drawings[1] another Janus arch stood at Verona until the year 1805, at which time it was completely destroyed. It was probably erected toward the end of the reign of Augustus. In point of style it stands midway between the arch at Aosta and that of Titus. The entire lower portion of the pier was treated as a base with top and bottom mouldings, bearing on projections both the impost pilasters and the engaged channelled Corinthian columns, of which two stood at either side of the opening on the main façades, one on the outer corner and one touching the impost capital. Between each pair of columns was a narrow high niche framed by small engaged columns and a pediment. The impost pilasters were provided with ornamental panels and Corinthian capitals. The other details are perhaps less certain, as in the drawings there is a tendency to restore missing portions. There was evidently a gable above the entablature. The sides of the arch seem to have been much narrower, and had for decoration only the corner columns and a much lower archivolt with no pilasters. Under the niches on the façades were the inscriptions: *C. Gavio C. f. Straboni; (M. Ga)vio C. f. (Mac)ro;* and *Gaviae M. f.*[2] Twice within the arch occurred the inscription: *L. Vitrŭvius L. l. Cerdo architectus.*

No. 20. Pompeii I (Italy). Of somewhat similar decoration is the arch to the east of the temple of Jupiter at Pompeii, which serves as one of the entrances to the Forum. All that remains is a moderately high base as at Verona, upon which rests the brick core of an arch of one opening. This core had once a veneering of marble. There now remain but a few traces of the engaged fluted columns, two of which stood on either side of the passageway. Closely adjoining the innermost of these were rather narrow impost pilasters. Between the pairs of columns are niches, shallow on the side toward the Forum, and evidently intended for statues. Those on the other side are deeper and may have served for fountains.

[1] Rossini, *op. cit.* pl. XIX.

[2] *C.I.L.* V, 3464.

No. 21. Pompeii II (Italy). The corresponding arch on the other side of the temple has even fewer traces remaining. It is of more slender construction and had pilasters instead of engaged columns on the façades.[1]

No. 22. Trieste (Dalmatia). The ornamentation of the small arch at Trieste is simple enough to warrant us in classing it in this period, although the date is probably later than that of the inscription[2] referring to the erection of the city wall in 33 B.C.: *Imp. Caesar cos. desig. tert. IIIvir r. p. c. iter. murum turresque fecit.* The stepped archivolt reaches the architrave. It is supported by impost pilasters which project from the wall of the passageway. The passageway is not vaulted. Adjoining the impost pilasters are fluted Corinthian pilasters which sheathe the outer corners of the piers and support the non-projecting entablature.[3]

No. 23. Corinth (Greece). Only the foundations remain. The arch had one opening 3.65 m. broad and was ornamented with columns on at least one façade. Several coins[4] show that an arch existed at Corinth from the time of Augustus. It is best represented on a mirror-case of the time of Nero, which is said to have been found at Corinth.[5] This shows an arch of the early type, with corner columns, and surmounted by a quadriga.

[1] In this connection might be noticed the analogous arched brick base on the south side of the Forum, probably the smallest ever provided with a passageway. It is 4.20 m. broad, 4.29 m. deep, and has an opening running through which is not quite 1 m. broad. It evidently once bore a statue. On either side are somewhat lower bases. The dates of all these monuments are uncertain, but must be earlier than 79 A.D.

[2] *C.I.L.* V, 525.

[3] Rossini, *op. cit.* tav. 18.

[4] Sears, *A.J.A.* VI, 1902, p. 450.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 453.

SECOND PERIOD

TIBERIUS TO HADRIAN

A SECOND group embraces the arches from the time of Tiberius to that of Hadrian. Except for the unique example at Saintes, which follows no given order, and the arch at Spoleto, which is still on the plan of that at Susa, the arches before the time of Titus are either fragmentary, or known only from inscriptions. The other arches till the time of Hadrian either follow closely the plan of the Arch of Titus, or else they introduce new features, which will be taken up as they occur. Most of the arches may be dated with accuracy.

No. 24. SAINTES (France). This arch is noteworthy as being the only early arch with two passageways. The only other example which comes within the scope of this paper, that of Announa II (No. 58) is much later. The arch of Saintes has been removed from its original position, where it once formed the entrance to the adjacent bridge. We have already seen bridge arches at St. Chamas, and later we shall find them of frequent occurrence. The date, 17 A.D., is derived from the inscriptions.[1] That on the frieze reads as follows: *C. Iulius C. Iuli Otuaneuni f. Rufus, C. Iuli Gedomonis nepos, Epotsoridi pron(epos), sacerd(os) Romae et Augusti, ad aram quae est ad confluentem, praefectus fabrum d(at)*. Three other inscriptions, consisting of dedications to Germanicus, Tiberius, and Drusus, stood on the attic, probably below statues. This use of statue bases in the attic has already been noted as a feature in the earlier arches. The decoration of the arch is peculiar and has its only parallels in North Africa, and at a much later period. (Announa II, No. 58; Bou-ftis, No. 42; Zanfour, No. 62.) On all three piers the impost mouldings, which here take the form of small entablatures, are continued entirely around, dividing the piers horizontally into two portions. Below this entablature, not only at the imposts, but also on the outer corners of the outer piers, are Corinthian pilasters. Above the impost entablature on the outer corners of the outer piers are engaged Corinthian columns supporting the main entablature. The central pier is narrow and the archivolts of the two openings nearly touch. On this pier there is no support for the main entablature. The archivolts are three-stepped and touch the architrave with their crown.

No. 25. SPOLETO (Italy). From Tacitus (*Ann.* II, 64) we learn that two arches to Drusus and Germanicus stood in the Forum of Augustus at Rome, one on either side of the temple of Mars Ultor.[2] Of these arches nothing remains. The date was about 19 A.D. At Spoleto there still exists an arch dedicated to these same princes. The type is that of the arch at Susa, and displays something of the awkwardness of construction which marked the earliest of the arches of the Augustan period. The arch has one

[1] *C.I.L.* XIII, 1036.

[2] *C.I.L.* VI, 911; Jordan, *op. cit.*, I, 2, 445.

opening 4.16 m. broad. The three-stepped archivolt is nearly twice the width of the Corinthian pilasters which support it. On the outer corners of the piers were unfluted Corinthian pilasters. The arch is much mutilated. Portions are concealed by the adjoining houses, and its piers are buried to one-half of the height of the imposts. Fragments of one of the corner pilasters have been built into an adjacent wall. Between the archivolt and architrave are fragments of two inscriptions, one to Germanicus and one to Drusus.[1] From these the date is placed at about 23 A.D.

No. 26. Arch of Tiberius (Forum, Rome). We have records of two arches of Tiberius. Of the one of these which was situated in the Forum, portions of the foundations remain. The other is known only from a reference in Suetonius.[2] The location of the arch in the Forum is made certain from the reference in Tacitus (*Ann.* II, 41), who says it was erected *propter aedem Saturni ob recepta signa cum Varo amissa ductu Germanici auspiciis Tiberi.*[3] Recent excavations have laid bare a concrete foundation 9 by 6.3 m., between the northwest corner of the Basilica Julia and the Rostra. The arch was against the Clivus Capitolinus and probably could only be traversed by means of steps. At the foot of the nearest of the brick bases to the north of the Sacra Via have been piled a number of marble fragments, which probably once formed part of the decoration of the arch. Amongst them is a fragment of a huge inscription showing the upper portion of the words (*s*)*enatus populu*(*s*). It is thought by many writers that the arch is represented on the marble balustrades of the Forum, between the temples of Concord and Saturn. Aside from the difficulty of seeing the arch in that position from the Forum, the fact that the arch there represented has but one impost moulding indicated, may show that it stood behind the temples and was in part concealed by them.

No. 27. Arch of Claudius (Rome). Of the arch which once spanned the Via Lata as an ornamental arch of the Aqua Virgo, only a few fragments of inscriptions and reliefs remain. The inscriptions consist of dedications, six in number, to the emperor and members of his family.[4] The dedication to the emperor occupied a panel in the attic, of which panel nearly half still exists built into a wall behind the Barberini palace. The bronze letters have vanished, but the cuttings and holes for fastening them remain. The date is 46 A.D.[5] The fragments of reliefs are two in number and are now on the porch of the Villa Borghese. They represent a group of Roman generals and standard-bearers in procession. This is the first arch in Italy where figures in any number were represented in relief (cf. Orange, No. 17; St. Remy I, No. 14).

No. 28. Arch of Titus (Rome). The next arch of which any traces remain[6]

[1] *C.I.L.* XI, 4776, 4777.

[2] Suet. *Claud.* 11: *Tiberio marmoreum arcum iuxta Pompei theatrum, decretum quidem olim a senatu verum omissum, peregit.*

[3] The arch is also represented on a relief on the Arch of Constantine as adjacent to the Rostra.

[4] *C.I.L.* VI, 920, 921.

[5] See *C.I.L.* III, 7061, for a similar inscription which probably stood on an arch at Cyzicus, in Asia Minor.

[6] No trace remains of the arch of Nero which once stood on the Capitoline. It is known from Tacitus (*Ann.* XV, 18): *At Romae tropaea de Parthis arcusque medio Capitolini montis sistebantur decreta ab senatu. . . .* This may be the arch of Nero shown on a coin (Cohen, *Nero*, 306) as having one opening, and decorated with statues and reliefs.

is the fairly complete arch of Titus, which spans the Sacra Via at the highest point of the Velia. From the inscription,[1] we learn that the arch was erected after the death and subsequent deification of Titus (*c.* 82 A.D.).[2] Only the central portion, of Pentelic marble, is ancient. The rest of the structure was restored in 1822 by Pope Pius VII. The restorations are of travertine and include most of the attic and the outer half of both piers, except for some early fragments which have been built in. The work is very accurately and conscientiously done. The likeness of the ancient portions to corresponding details on the arch at Beneventum make certain the restorations along the same lines. In spite of its conspicuous situation the arch is not mentioned in literature and is represented only once among ancient remains and that in a distorted manner, on the relief of the Haterii, which is now in the Lateran museum. The arch suffered much during the Middle Ages, and at one time formed part of a fortress of the Frangipani, in which period possibly the lower portions of the reliefs were hacked away. Even in recent times a roadway passed through it, and the varying height of the ground level at different periods may be traced from the marks made by the hubs of passing wheels along the sides and on the corners of the passageway.

The arch has one opening 5.36 m. broad and 8.30 m. high. The whole monument is 13.50 m. broad, 15.40 m. high, and 4.75 m. deep. Both the pedestals of the columns and the impost pilasters have a common plinth, which completely surrounds the pier. A new motive is introduced in the impost system, in that the ornamental faces of the pilasters are turned toward the passageway instead of toward the façades. The impost moulding has carefully cut bands of decoration. It springs directly from the columns of the façades, and after projecting under the archivolt is prolonged without decoration through the passageway. On either side of the opening the façades had a pair of engaged fluted columns with Composite capitals, of which order these are the first examples. Those near the opening are mainly ancient. Those on the outer corners of the piers are restorations. They rest upon a common high pedestal, which is prolonged across the ends of the piers. The lower moulding of this pedestal is also prolonged through the passageway, projecting below the impost pilasters as their base. Above this moulding, between the imposts, is a sunken panel and then a broad plain band corresponding in height to that of the upper pedestal moulding and the column bases taken together, and serving as the lower member of the frame for the relief, which completely fills the space as far as the impost moulding. The archivolt projects from the vaulting, and is stepped without, plain within, and ornamented with a carved panel on the under side. The vaulting is richly coffered except for a small square relief in the centre of the crown, representing the apotheosis of the emperor.

Between the columns, both on the façades and on the ends, are narrow panels with simple borders. Below these panels, on the façades, are tall, narrow niches. In the northeast niche is a door leading to an inner stair. The narrow, rounded bands below the capitals of the columns are continued between the columns, both on the façades

[1] *C.I.L.* VI, 945.

[2] Of another arch which was dedicated to Titus on account of his Jewish victories and which stood in the Circus Maximus, only an early copy of the inscription remains. *C.I.L.* VI, 944 (Einsiedl.).

and on the ends of the arch. The entablature projects over the corner columns, and then over the central two, taken together. The archivolt reaches the architrave by means of a projecting console, which has a figure of Roma on the Colosseum side, and another, possibly of Fortuna, on the side toward the Forum. The spandrels are ornamented with Victories carrying standards, trophies, wreaths, etc. The frieze on the Colosseum side has reliefs showing soldiers bearing the god of the river Jordan on a litter. In front is a procession of animals for sacrifice, and other soldiers bearing booty. The execution is poor, the lines are stiff, and there is no grouping of the figures. The members of the high attic project over the columns in the same manner as the entablature below. The central panel on the Colosseum side bears the inscription. Probably an identical inscription was on the other side, but, if so, this has disappeared, and its place is occupied by a papal dedication.

Of much better technique than the figures on the frieze are the two reliefs within the passageway, which represent to one going through toward the Forum two processions moving in the same direction. That on the left is passing under a gate, possibly the Porta Triumphalis, and represents soldiers bearing the spoils from the temple of Jeru-

FIGURE 3.—THE ARCH AT ALCANTARA

salem. On the opposite side is represented the end of the triumphal procession, with Titus in a chariot conducted by the goddess Roma. Behind the emperor is a figure of Victory, who places a wreath upon his head.

NO. 29. ALCANTARA (Spain).[1] A number of arches were erected during the reign of Trajan. The earliest of these is the bridge arch at Alcantara in the extreme west

[1] See Figure 3.

of Spain. It spans the roadway in the centre of the wonderfully well-preserved Roman bridge, by means of which the road from Madrid to Lisbon crosses the Tagus. The arch is of extremely simple design, and probably had no purpose but to carry the memorial tablets. The date (105–6 A.D.) is derived from the dedication to Trajan on the frieze.[1] The other inscriptions were probably four in number, although but one remains.[2] The panels on which they were presumably inscribed are sunk in the piers, two on either façade, closely adjoining the imposts.

The stones of the arch, as of the whole bridge, are bossed, with the exception of those of the vaulting, which are smooth. For the first time we find no architectural features for supports. There are neither columns, pilasters, nor entablature proper. A simple impost moulding starts with a straight cut from slightly within the outer circle of the archivolt, and runs through the shallow passageway. The archivolt is marked only by the voussoirs, which are cut to follow its curve. Above, two simple mouldings, of which the lower touches the crown of the archivolt, enclose the band with the first of the inscriptions referred to above.

No. 30. Bara (Spain). The arch at Bara is made of a soft stone, which weathers badly, and has twice been restored. The inscription, which was on the frieze, is known only from early copies.[3] It read, *Ex testamento L. Licini L. f. Serg. Surae consacratum.* This L. Licinius Sura was a legate and friend of Trajan. The arch has one opening, 5.20 m. broad, flanked on either side by two channelled Corinthian pilasters, of which the outer ones sheathe the outer corners of the piers. From the inner pilasters spring the mouldings which form the only decoration of the imposts. Below the pilasters are high bases completely surrounding the piers.[4]

No. 31. Martorell (Spain). The bridge arch at Martorell has been too badly damaged to merit much attention. It has one opening, 6.20 m. broad. On the outer corners of the piers were channelled pilasters resting on a high base, as in the last example. This feature, together with the use of bossed blocks similar to those at Alcantara, seems to warrant our assigning the work to this period rather than to that of Augustus.[5]

No. 32. Labandja (Asia Minor). In connection with Nos. 29 and 31 may be mentioned the bridge arch at Labandja, although the lack of inscriptions makes the dating uncertain. The arch has one opening, 6.20 m. broad. The decoration consists of a simple impost moulding, which is prolonged around the piers. The voussoirs are cut to follow the curve of the archivolt.[6]

No. 33. Beneventum (Italy). In 115 A.D. at Beneventum was erected an arch to Trajan, of which the details correspond in almost every particular to those of the Arch of Titus, although the proportions are much larger. A sign of a later period is the increased use of reliefs, which in this case cover both façades. In point of execution the reliefs are poorer than those on the Arch of Titus. The field is more crowded and the workmanship not so good. They refer to actual events in the life of Trajan, whose

[1] *C.I.L.* II, 759. [2] *C.I.L.* II, 760. [3] *C.I.L.* II, 4282.
[4] See Laborde, *Voyage en Espagne*, Paris, 1806–20, I, pl. 40. [5] Laborde, *op. cit.*, I, pl. 17–18.
[6] Laborde, *Asie Mineur*, Paris, 1837, pl. 14.

image occurs in all but two. There has been much discussion[1] as to the order in which the events depicted should be taken.

The arrangement of the reliefs on the façades is as follows: On either side of the inscription in the attic is one large panel, and between each pair of columns are four others, two of which are broad and two narrow, so alternating that the two broad reliefs are separated by one of the narrow ones. The second narrow relief fills the space formed by the marking off of the capital zone, which is done by prolonging the fillet below the capitals from one column to the other. This fillet is also prolonged across the ends of the arch, which are undecorated save for a central panel like the one which the restorer has given the Arch of Titus. This panel in Beneventum corresponds in height to the central narrow frieze of the façade. The other reliefs of the spandrels, keys, frieze, passageway, and vaulting correspond in position to those on the Arch of Titus.[2]

No. 34. Ancona (Italy). Although constructed in the same year as the last example, the arch at Ancona offers several differences in point of detail. It is of much smaller and narrower proportions.[3] It stands on a high base and is approached by a flight of steps. The columns are Corinthian, and are closer together and less engaged than the columns at Beneventum. They rest upon pedestals having common top and bottom mouldings which are carried around the pier (but not through the passageway), and which also project under the plinths of the columns, so that each column has its own pedestal. The impost moulding has no corner supports whatever. The base moulding of the pedestals is not carried through the opening. The narrow archivolt does not reach the architrave except by a disproportionately large keystone, which projects not only above, but also below for several inches and extends through the passageway. The figures which ornamented the ends of the consoles are now much battered. Between each pair of columns on the façades are two shallow brackets, above each of which are three holes with incised connecting lines, which evidently once contained bronze ornaments of some description.

On the attic on the side toward the town are three inscriptions,[4] two to Plotina and Marcina, and one to Trajan.

No. 35. Mactaris I (Tunis).[5] The last extant arch of this period is situated in North Africa and introduces several new features of decoration which are peculiar to that region. For various reasons the building of arches in the Roman provinces of Numidia and Mauretania was especially popular. Material was easily obtainable from numerous quarries, and a certain grade of labor was always available in the shape of the legionaries of the many fortified camps. The arches have little or no relief decoration and often leave much to be desired in point of execution. On the other hand, on

[1] For descriptions of the reliefs and other details see Rossi, *L' arco Traiano di Benevento*, Naples, 1816; Rossini, *Archi trionfali*, Rome, 1836; Meomartini, *Monumenti antichi . . . di Benevento*, Benevento, 1889; Petersen, in *Röm. Mitth.* VII, 1892, pp. 178–192; Domaszewski, in *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.* II, 1899, pp. 173–192; Merrill, *T.A.P.A.* XXXII, 1901, p. 43 seq.

[2] For the inscription see *C.I.L.* IX, 1558.

[3] The opening is but 3.00 m. broad.

[4] *C.I.L.* IX, 5894.

[5] See Figure 4. The negatives from which this and the other photographs of arches in Tunis were printed are the property of the Archaeological Commission of Tunis, and are reproduced with the permission of M. Gauckler, who very kindly placed the whole collection at my disposal.

FIGURE 4. — ARCH AT MACTARIS (I)

account of climatic conditions they have suffered less from time than those of most other countries, and they offer certain interesting differences of style.

The arch in question is situated at Maktar,[1] the ancient Mactaris, in Tunis. From the inscription[2] it was erected in 116 A.D. It has but one opening, 3.90 m.

[1] The question of nomenclature in North Africa is a difficult one. Where the ancient and modern names are nearly alike, or where the modern names are unimportant and little known, the ancient names will be used. Otherwise it seems best to employ the modern designation of places. In the use of maps or in travelling they alone are useful, and as a rule they are more familiar and occur more frequently in literature than the ancient names.

[2] *C.I.L.* VIII. 621.

broad. The decoration of the façades consists really of three frames instead of two. The outer frame consists of two unfluted engaged Corinthian columns situated near but not on the outer corners of the monument. Between them and the main cornice is a space corresponding to two courses of the wall and probably filled by a block bearing the profile of the architrave and frieze, which do not continue along the façades. The second frame is made up of two shorter engaged unchannelled Corinthian columns, separated by some distance from those near the corner. They bear an entablature and a gable, which are indicated in relief on the wall of the façade. The point of the gable would have reached the main architrave had this been continued along the façade. Within the frame is still the impost system. The stones are now worn, but probably the archivolt was indicated by a raised band. The voussoirs are so large that their outer line is cut into by the architrave of the second frame. The impost is marked by a

FIGURE 5. — ARCH AT UZAPPA

simple moulding, which not only continues through the vaulted passageway, but also completely around the piers, except where it is broken by the columns of the two frames. The inscription appears on one façade only, on the frieze under the engaged pediment, which is broken into on that side by a deep rectangular niche. The cornices are ornamented with rather poorly executed egg and dart mouldings. Otherwise the arch

as it stands is without decoration. To be especially noted as characteristics of North African construction are the three frames of the opening; also the gable, and the prolonging of the impost moulding around the piers.

No. 36. Uzappa (modern Ksur Abd-el-Melek, Tunis).[1] The type of this arch is almost identical with that of Mactaris I. In this case the main frieze and architrave are continued along the façades. Between them and the outer columns are consoles with eagles in relief in front, and horned and bearded heads on the sides. The impost moulding is even more pronounced, in that it passes through the drums of the columns. The archivolt is marked by a narrow band with a raised border. The voussoirs are very large and are traversed by the shafts of the inner engaged columns. The frieze with the inscription[2] is not in relief, which leaves the pediment of the engaged columns apparently without support.

[1] See Figure 5.

[2] *C.I.L.* VIII, sup. 11924: (*geni*)*o civitatis Uzappae* (*A*)*ug. sac. d. d. p. p.* The date is uncertain and may fall in the next period.

THIRD PERIOD

HADRIAN TO SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

This period is distinguished from the two preceding by the fact that within it the important innovation of free-standing columns was made, an innovation arising from the constantly increasing desire for elaboration. As has already been suggested, the result was far from satisfactory from an artistic standpoint. The columns are thrust forward with no reason for their existence, since they have nothing to support but the few inches of the entablature which projects over them. The wall assumes its true supporting function, and the inordinate mass of the piers is revealed with no relieving features. Moreover, the play of light and shade becomes so pronounced that it is out of all proportion to the size of the monument, and only from a great distance can the lines of the arches, which are often truly graceful, be appreciated.

No. 37. Adalia (Pamphylia). This large memorial arch is situated in the line of the city walls, and strictly speaking should be classed as a gate. It is flanked by towers and is not a free-standing base; but the duplicate façades, the wealth of ornamental detail, and the inscriptions give the arch such a monumental character that it is included in the present list. It has three openings, 4.15 m. broad and 3.325 m. deep. The impost moulding has no special supports. It surrounds the two central piers, and extends on the sides to the end pilasters. The archivolt does not reach the architrave. The two central piers are so narrow that the archivolts touch. The vaulting has richly carved coffers, in the centre of each of which is a flower or rosette of different design. At an unusual distance in front of each of the four piers (centre of column to wall 2.23 m.) stood a free, unfluted column of the Composite order, on a high pedestal. These have all disappeared but one. In place of the usual pilasters behind the columns are consoles which bear the entablature. At the extreme right and left of the outer piers are pilasters closely adjoining the towers. The entablature projects over each column separately. The frieze is ornamented with vine leaves. On the cornice are small lions' heads, two over each opening and one on either side of the projecting portion. A few traces only remain of an upper story and of a passageway between the towers. One inscription,[1] which, was seen by Beaufort, has now disappeared. It was dedicated to Hadrian and referred possibly to a statue or quadriga. The other inscription, of gilded bronze letters, was fastened to the architrave by leaden clamps, of which traces remain. It ran above all three openings. The beginning as copied by Stewart[2] read αυτοκρατορι καισαρι τραιανω ανδριανω. . . . The extra ν in the name of Hadrian is probably a mistake in copying. The date[3] may have been

[1] Beaufort, *Karamania*, London, 1817, p. 128; *C.I.G.* III, 4339.

[2] See Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens u. Pisidiens*, I, Vienna, 1890.

[3] Durr, *Die Reisen d. Kaisers Hadrian*, Vienna, 1881, p. 61.

130 A.D., the time of Hadrian's visit to that region. Lanckoronski[1] would read the words τ]ῃ πατριδι over the central opening, and believes that the gate was dedicated by some private person, as were most of the constructions of the country.

No. 38. ANTINOË (Egypt). Of about the same date was the arch which stood in Antinoë, a city which was founded by the emperor Hadrian. Since its publication in the *Description de l'Egypte*,[2] nearly a century ago, it has been completely destroyed. The arch had three openings, of which the central (5.21 m. broad) was over twice the width of the smaller ones (2.46 m. broad). All four piers were also pierced transversely by still smaller passageways, 2.26 m. broad. The decoration offers a mixture of two architectural orders. The main lines are Doric. Two broad Roman Doric pilasters, sheathing the outer corners of either façade, and two others adjoining the main passageway, supported the Doric entablature and low gable. The base moulding and plinth of these were prolonged around the piers and formed also the bases of similar pilasters, which had projecting shafts and capitals on the inside of all the passageways, and at the corners of the transverse openings. On the façades they sprang directly from the main pilasters. The archivolts were all three-stepped and narrow. That of the main opening reached but halfway from the impost to the architrave. Projecting from each of the four piers of the façades, low pedestals bore free-standing, unfluted Corinthian columns reaching to the height of the main impost only. Behind these and in relief against the pilasters of the main frame were narrow pilasters of the same height as the columns.[3] Together they bore an entablature, which sprang directly from the main pilasters, and after projecting over the columns was carried along the façades above the smaller openings. Above this entablature, over each of the smaller openings, a framed window filled the space between the main pilasters as far as the architrave. Inside the central piers four spiral stairs led to two rooms over the side openings, lighted by the four windows of the façades. There was also a large room over the main passageway of which the means of lighting are not known.

No. 39. PALMYRA (Syria). From the arrangement of the pilasters, reminding one of the free column system of this period, in that one member stands before another, and from the amount and technique of the decoration, it seems best to class the arch of Palmyra with the other arches of Hadrian. The arch is of unique construction, in that the façades are not parallel. The façade toward the city is at right angles to the street over which it is placed. The other deviates about 15 degrees toward the east, probably to harmonize with some building on that side. Transverse passageways exist in the piers, one in the narrower of the piers adjoining the central passageway, two in the broader pier opposite, and two in the pier at the broad end of the arch. The crowns of their archivolts lie under the impost mouldings of the lateral openings of the façades. On the east façade are four Corinthian pilasters with framed ornamental panels extending from top to bottom. Two of these are on the outer corners and two closely adjoin the imposts of the main passageway. Between

[1] See Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*

[2] *Description de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1821, *Antiquités*, p. 228, pls. 57 and 58.

[3] Cf. Palmyra (No. 39) for another example of this superposing of pilasters.

these pilasters and the imposts of the smaller openings, four similar pilasters appear as if placed behind, with only half of their surface showing. These probably bore the main entablature, which then projected over the still more projecting pilasters. None of the entablature is in place. The central opening is 7.63 m., the side 3.74 m. broad. All three have impost pilasters with panels and capitals, and richly decorated archivolts. The main impost capitals have an acanthus leaf merely on the outer corner. The rest is fluted. The smaller capitals have an entwining vine pattern in place of the fluting. Above the smaller openings are niches, which were probably once framed by small columns and an entablature. Within the arch the passageways are vaulted and coffered.

The west façade differs from the eastern in that the main entablature extends only over the central opening. The sides of the façade reach to the height of the portico, which ran along the street and abutted against the arch above the side openings. Thus the large corner pilasters are absent and the lower entablature is carried by simple corner pilasters and those which terminate the rows of columns of the portico. The last-mentioned pilasters have an ornamental scroll with a lion's head below the Corinthian capital.[1]

No. 40. Arch of Hadrian (Athens, Greece). This arch follows no fixed type in its construction. For the single columns in the centre of the piers, the closest parallels are found in North Africa. (Zana I, No. 49; Zanfour, No. 62.) The arch has one opening, 6.10 m. broad. The two-stepped archivolt cuts into the architrave above. On the corners of the passageway are impost pilasters with Corinthian capitals, such as occur in Italy either in early arches, or in those which are much later than the one in question. At the ends of the piers are Corinthian antae. On either façade a pedestal in the centre of each pier bore a free-standing column. All four of these have disappeared. Over them projected the entablature. Above the entablature in the centre of either pier were once two smaller free columns, separated by a pilaster which still remains. Directly over the opening on either façade are two three-quarter columns separated from those on the other side by a marble screen, which terminated just beyond the columns in antae with Corinthian capitals. Above all of these members is an entablature similar to the one below, which projects over the end columns and over the central two taken together. Above the centre was a very small gable, having only the width of the two engaged columns. On the main frieze on the side toward the Acropolis is the inscription (*C.I.G.* I, 520):

Αἵδ' εἰσ' Ἀθῆναι Θησέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις.

On the opposite side is another:

Αἵδ' εἰσ' Ἁδριανοῦ κοὐχὶ Θησέως πόλις.

That is to say, all on one side belongs to Athens, the former city of Theseus; all on the other belongs to Hadrian, and not to the city of Theseus.

No. 41. Besançon (France). On account of the free columns, the arch at Besançon cannot be placed earlier than this period. The two-story decoration of the façades reminds one of the arch at Saintes. The arch has one opening, 5.63 m. broad and

[1] See Wood, *Ruins of Palmyra and Balbec*, London, 1827.

2.085 m. deep. It is built into the wall of the archbishop's palace, and the sides are partially concealed. The archivolt reaches the architrave by a projecting key. Below it is a far-projecting impost moulding supported by pilasters which on the main façade have each six small reliefs with scenes symbolic of the signs of the zodiac. The spandrels are deep sunk. The vaulting is covered and bore reliefs, as did the walls of the passageway, all of which are for the most part destroyed. On either side of the passageway are two free Corinthian columns on the same level as the impost pilasters, and of nearly the same height. Their shafts are decorated with bands of reliefs representing mythological scenes, such as Hercules with the Minotaur, Andromeda, Daedalus and Icarus, etc. The projecting entablature of these columns is on about the level of

FIGURE 6. — ARCH AT BOUF-TIS

the impost moulding. Above this entablature are two other smaller free Corinthian columns supporting the main entablature. Between the pairs of columns were also figures in relief.

No. 42. BOUF-TIS (Tunis).[1] Another arch which follows closely the two-story decoration of the arch at Saintes is found at Bouf-tis. Near by are two inscriptions from arches,[2] one dating from 137 and one from 161–8 A.D. It is quite possible that one of these belongs to this arch. As is the case at Saintes, the impost moulding, and in this instance also a slightly projecting course below, extend completely around

[1] See Figure 6.

[2] *C.I.L.* VIII, 799, 801.

the piers. Below on either pier are two fluted Corinthian pilasters in low relief, situated a few inches from the outer and inner corners respectively. They are separated by a framed niche. Above the impost are other similarly situated pilasters with no niche between, of which the inner one has the lower portion of its shaft in relief against the voussoirs. There is no indicated archivolt. The interlacing of the main supports and voussoirs is most inartistic. At Saintes the inner pilasters are omitted (cf. also Announa, II, No. 58; and Fedj-Yesour, No. 43). The upper portion of the arch has entirely disappeared.

No. 43. Fedj-Yesour (Tunis). This small arch of one opening is even more damaged than the last-mentioned example. The portion which remains follows more closely the analogy of Saintes than does the arch at Bouf-tis. Below the impost moulding, Corinthian pilasters sheathe all four corners of the piers. Above, the inner pilasters were omitted. The voussoirs are very large, and have no indicated archivolt. Of the upper portion only the voussoirs and a trace of one of the corner pilasters remain.

No. 44. Sbeitla I (ancient Sufetula, Tunis). The arch is in reality an entrance to a temple enclosure, and has but one ornamental façade. It represents, however, a type of arch construction peculiar to North Africa, and is almost exactly paralleled by the next example (Mactaris II), and therefore merits description. The attic has nearly all disappeared. On the remaining portion are fragments of dedications [1] to Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, and L. Verus, which place the date between 140 and 143 A.D. The arch has three openings, of which the central one is 3.15 m. and those on the sides 1.52 m. broad. The side openings are very low (in the deeper arch at Mactaris II they are replaced by niches) and do not reach to the impost moulding of the main opening, which, as at Uzappa (No. 36), is carried across the façade, cutting through the four engaged unchannelled Corinthian columns. These columns rest on pedestals, and are situated one on either side of the main opening, and one near (but not on) each of the outer corners. Above the columns the entablature and attic project over the outer two and over the inner two taken together. The archivolts are very narrow, but the voussoirs are broad, and reach to the architrave above. Between the columns above the impost moulding are framed rectangular niches.

No. 45. Mactaris II (Tunis). The arrangement of details on this arch offers a close parallel to the one just described (Sbeitla I). The main difference lies in the substitution of low pilasters for the engaged columns. The columns have disappeared, but probably once stood free on pedestals in front of the pilasters. The depth of the arch is very great, so that the side openings of the arch at Sbeitla I here become merely niches on either side. Above the impost moulding were no niches.

No. 46. Jerash (Syria). From datable inscriptions found on adjacent buildings of about the same period, and from its architectural features, this arch may be described at this point. It has three openings, of which that in the centre is exceptionally high. On the façade are four engaged columns on high pedestals, two of which adjoin but do not touch the main imposts, while two are at some distance from the outer corners, much in the style of Sbeitla I. This method of leaving the outer corners free in a system

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 228.

involving engaged columns is unusual outside of North Africa. The columns are unique in that the bases have a calyx of acanthus leaves resembling a misplaced capital. The side openings are much injured. The central passageway has impost pilasters with Corinthian capitals slightly narrower than the three-stepped archivolt. Above the side passageways are rectangular niches with a base moulding, which probably once supported flanking columns. The upper portion of the arch has been destroyed.

No. 47. Patara (Lycia).[1] The architectural scheme of this arch is very simple. It is built of large blocks of stone, which are smooth for several inches at the joints, and have a low, rough boss in the centre. There are three openings, of which the central is 3.58 m., and the two on the sides 2.60 m. broad. All of the openings are 2.40 m. deep. The two central piers are 3.30 m. and the two end piers 1.78 m. broad. They are unornamented to the height of the narrow impost moulding, which surrounds them on the same level on all sides except at the ends of the arch. The archivolts of one broad band are on voussoirs of like width. The central one is slightly higher,

Figure 7. — Arch at Patara

but does not reach the Doric entablature which crowns the arch. This entablature has no supporting pilasters. On either façade, closely adjoining the archivolts and slightly above the impost mouldings, are projecting consoles, one on each end pier (except for the east pier of the north façade), and two on each of the central piers, making eleven in all. They probably once bore statues or busts. Some of the inscriptions with which all of them were probably furnished are still plainly legible.[2] Above the central pairs of consoles are deep rectangular framed niches, which break into the triglyph frieze of the entablature.

No. 48. Tripolis (Tripoli). This is the best-preserved and most elaborately decorated of the Janus arches which are still in existence. As is shown by the inscrip-

[1] See Figure 7.

[2] *C.I.G.* III, 4279–4282. Also see Benndorf and Niemann, *Reisen in Lykien u. Karien*, Vienna, 1884, p. 116, pl. XXXVI.

tion, it was erected in 163 A.D.[1] The arch is constructed of huge blocks of white marble without cement. The main façades are about 12.5 m. broad. The others are about 10 m. The archivolts are two-stepped and reach the architrave. On both the outer and inner corners of the passageways are impost pilasters with sculptured panels. They have Corinthian capitals and an entablature with an ornate frieze, which is continued through the passageway around the piers. The soffits of the archivolts have sculptured panels and the vaulting is coffered. Over the centre was a dome which rested on an octagonal cornice (cf. Laodicea, No. 68). In the spandrels are Victories. On the outer corners of the piers are Corinthian pilasters, on the shafts of which are sunk panels with carved ornaments. They rest on pedestals which bear reliefs of vases, tripods, etc. Flanking the opening of the main façades are similar pilasters with fluted shafts. Between the pilasters on either side of the main façade are niches, above which are circular medallions with busts. Between the medallions and the architrave are reliefs, each with two winged Cupids holding a garland. The space between the pedestals was also ornamented. On the side façades, in place of niches between the corner pilasters and the imposts, are reliefs with trophies, victors in chariots, etc. The frieze of the entablature is also sculptured except for the portion bearing the inscription. The upper part of the monument has been badly damaged.[2]

No. 49. Zana I (ancient Diana Veteranorum, Algeria). Near this arch were found fragments of two identical inscriptions,[3] containing dedications to M. Aurelius and L. Verus, dating from 165 A.D. These do not certainly belong to this monument, but the style of decoration is unquestionably of the period under consideration. The principal feature of the ornamentation consists of two detached, monolithic, unchannelled, Corinthian columns standing on pedestals on either side of the single opening. Behind them on the wall are Corinthian pilasters. We have already had an example in the arch at Athens (No. 40) of single free columns in front of the piers, and shall find others in North Africa (cf. Zanfour, No. 62). In this case the pilaster adjoins the impost, leaving a blank wall 1.65 m. wide between the pilaster and the outer corner of the pier. The passageway is 4.50 m. broad. The archivolt has bands of decoration, and in the centre a figure of Diana, the protecting goddess of Diana Veteranorum. The archivolt rests on a broad impost moulding resembling the capital of a pilaster, with meanders and egg and dart mouldings, below which are two rows of leaves. The coffers of the vaulting have in the centre rosettes and bunches of vine leaves. The entablature has a convex (torus) profile and a broad cornice. Nearly all of the attic has been destroyed.[4]

No. 50. Timgad (Algeria).[5] Of probably the same date, although generally attributed to Trajan, is the arch at Timgad. The west gate was of similar construction to this arch, and has fragments of a dedication to M. Aurelius and L. Verus,[6] dating between the years 166 and 169 A.D. Moreover, the style of the architecture with detached columns could not be much earlier. Fragments of two identical inscriptions were found at the foot of the arch, which merely state that the town was founded by

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 24.
[2] See Playfair, *Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce*, London, 1877.
[3] *C.I.L.* VIII, 4591.
[4] See Gsell, *Monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1901, I, pp. 164–165.
[5] See Figure 8.
[6] See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, p. 168.

Trajan in 100 A.D. They read[1]: *Imp. Caesar divi Nervae f. Nerva Traianu(s) (A)ug. Germanicus pontif. m(ax.) tr(i)b. pot. IIII. (co)s III. p. p. co(l) Marc(i)anam Traianam Th(a)mugadi per* LEG III *Aug. fec. (L. M)unat(io) Gallo leg. Aug. pro. pr.*

The arch[2] has three openings, of which the central is 4.73 m. and the sides 2.50 m. broad, between the walls of the passageway. The depth of the arch is 3.08 m. The upper portion has been considerably restored. The material is sandstone of local provenience, with the finer details in limestone and marble. The passageways are not vaulted, but have perpendicular walls and a ceiling. The impost moulding and pilasters spring from the flanking pilasters on the façades and are cut into below by their pedestals. Within the passageway they project far from the wall under the inner archivolt. The moulding is not carried through the passageway. The archivolt of the central openings is three-stepped and does not reach the architrave. The archivolts of the side openings are two-stepped and reach the architrave-like brackets which form the lower members of the frames of the niches, one of which is over each side passageway. Above these brackets, ornamental marble corbels on either side of the niches once bore small flanking columns of marble, above which the projecting entablature still remains. This is on a smaller scale than the main entablature, which does not continue across above the side openings, but after projecting over the main columns on either side, ends directly against the wall. The centre of the space thus left is occupied by the small entablature in question. The cornice of the main entablature not only projects as described, but is also carried in duplicate over the space above the niches as a circular pediment. This pediment springs from the outer extremities of the portions of the entablature which project over the flanking pair of columns of the main supports. The main supports consist of four unchannelled Corinthian pilasters, in front of which, on the same high pedestals, are detached, fluted, Corinthian columns, cabled below, of white limestone. Two of these are between the large and small openings, and on the west façade have on their capitals sculptured eagles with thunderbolts. The other two closely adjoin the opposite side of the small openings.

FIGURE 8.—ARCH AT TIMGAD

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 17842. 17843.

[2] See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, pp. 174–176.

On the outer corners of the piers are pilasters similar to those behind the columns. The entablature projects over all the columns separately, and is carried around the arch except over the side openings. Above is a low attic with a terminal entablature, which is for the most part destroyed.

Against the ends of the arch abuts a low wall of late construction. From the date and orientation of the buildings situated within this wall it seems probable that it replaces the wall of the first city, although no trace of this early wall has as yet been found. On the west side of the arch, in front of the piers, are two depressions in the pavement, 1.78 m. square and bordered by a groove 0.24 m. wide. These squares are not quite oriented with the arch, and the one on the north side extends for some little distance under the pier as if it existed before the construction of the present arch. It is conceivable that these outline the shape of the piers of an earlier gateway of simple design, which was destroyed when the present arch was erected.

No. 51. Lambèse I (Algeria). At Lambèse are two arches of the time of Commodus. The date of the first of these is given by fragments of two identical inscriptions.[1]

The arch is situated in the western portion of the town over the road leading to Verecunda. It has one opening, 3.76 m. broad and 1.19 m. deep. The archivolt is indicated by a raised band upon the much broader voussoirs. On the key on either façade are busts, an unusual feature in North Africa. One represents a woman with a turret crown; the other is indistinct. On the key of the vaulting were also sculptures, of which only a sword in a scabbard can be made out. A narrow impost moulding springs directly from the pilasters on either side of the passageway, and the base moulding of these pilasters is prolonged through the opening. On either side of the passageway on either façade are two unfluted pilasters, the outer of which are near the corners of the piers. Projecting from the inner pilasters at the height of the imposts are consoles, which possibly bore columns flanking niches between the pilasters, and were matched by like consoles on the outer pilasters. Unfortunately nearly all of the sides and the entire upper portion of the monument has disappeared.

No. 52. Lambèse II (Algeria). Of similar construction is the other arch of this period, of which fragments of the inscriptions from the attic also exist.[2] On this arch the outer pilasters are on the corners of the piers and the inner ones are slightly farther from the opening, so that the impost moulding which springs from them extends beyond the archivolt. The passageway is 3.65 m. broad and 1.045 m. deep. The archivolt is two-stepped and does not quite reach the architrave. Between the pilasters at either side of the opening are niches with arched tops. Of the upper portion of the monument but little remains.

No. 53. Arco di Druso (adjoining the Porta San Sebastiano, Rome). This arch is popularly attributed to Drusus,[3] but has none of the characteristics of such an early period. A close examination of the existing remains shows that the monument was much more elaborate than is generally supposed, although it was never completely

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 2698 and 18247.

[2] *C.I.L.* VIII, 2699, 18112, 2700, 18246.

[3] See Sueton. *Claud.* 1, for reference to the arch of Drusus, which was erected over the Via Appia.

finished. It had once three passageways, of which only the central one remains. The existence of the opening to the west is shown by a course of blocks above the impost moulding, which, judging from their profile, were evidently once joined by the lower voussoirs of the passageway. Moreover, the two existing piers have their original width, and with the single columns in front of them belong most probably to the system of arches of three passageways with a single column in front of each of the four piers. The only two exceptions to this rule (Athens, No. 40, and Mustis, No. 70) are both provincial. The material is travertine, which was once completely faced with marble. The portions of the marble facing which remain are the voussoirs for the first course of the vaulting and the keystone for its entire depth. On the surface of these broad voussoirs is indicated a very narrow two-stepped archivolt, which is broken above by the keystone. The keystone projects on either façade and was doubtless destined to be ornamented in some manner.

All of the voussoirs project to some distance from the travertine surface of the piers. Their upper level falls one course short of reaching the architrave (cf. Dougga, No. 66). The impost mouldings are also of marble and were continued around the piers. The blocks on which they are carved project from the piers to the level of the voussoirs, before the moulding proper begins. It is evident that the surface of the piers was brought up to the level of these projecting portions by means of a veneering of marble. On the under side of the impost moulding in the passageway are still visible the metal dowels by means of which this facing was fastened. From slight cuttings in the travertine, and from the projecting of the impost moulding on the façade, but not in the passageway, it is evident that below the imposts were pilasters with a broad face on the façades, and a very narrow one toward the passageway. After projecting over these, the impost moulding was carried around the central piers, of which the one to the west is practically complete. The piers rest on a travertine foundation of several courses. The existing passageway is 5.34 m. broad and 5.615 m. deep.

Of the columns only two are left, one on either side of the passageway on the south façade. They are of Numidian marble and fluted and have Composite capitals of white marble. They stand on high pedestals with no pilasters on the wall behind (cf. Athens, No. 40, and Mustis, No. 70). Over the columns separately project the architrave and frieze of the entablature, of which only the projecting portion remains. The frieze was never finished, but is left rough in places. That other columns existed is shown by a similar piece of projecting entablature, which is built into an adjacent wall. The upper portion of the monument is at present occupied by a cross section of an aqueduct, built of brick, and probably dating from a later period than the arch. Into its surface on the north side are built fragments of an ornate cornice of a fairly late period, and a trace of a pediment, which is too fragmentary to enable one to attribute it to an earlier period than the free columns would indicate. Certainly the cornice, which is much better preserved, could not be earlier than the columns. Over the south façade is a slight trace of a similar pediment.

FOURTH PERIOD

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS TO CONSTANTINE

In this period we find arches generally having free columns in front of pilasters. There are many signs of decadence, but mainly in the execution of details. The proportions of the arches are often very good. The reliefs, when they occur, are overcrowded and of poor workmanship, and as regards decoration in general, the tendency

Figure 9. — Arch at Haidra

is to overcrowd the members to which it is applied. The mouldings and cornices lack the refinement of line and simple curves found in earlier construction.

No. 54. Haidra (ancient Ammaedara, Tunis).[1] Taking up first several arches from North Africa, we find at Haidra a carefully constructed but very heavy arch of

[1] See Figure 9.

one opening, 5.74 m. broad. The piers are 4.35 m. broad and 6.40 m. deep. The general plan is the same as that of Mactaris II, although no opening or niche occurs between the pilasters. A peculiarity of this arch, reminding one of the arch at Adalia (No. 37), is the distance of the columns from the piers. The measurement from the centre of the columns to the pilasters is 2.08 m. The entablature, with decorated architrave and a very high frieze, is carried forward over these columns on either side of the opening, and then across to the outer column, the pilasters of which are situated near the

FIGURE 10. — ARCH AT LAMBÈSE (III)

FIGURE 11. — ARCH AT ANNOUNA (II)

corners of the piers. This gives the effect of two porticoes in front of the arch, rather than of a column system of decoration for the façade. The result is far more pleasing than the isolated projections at Adalia. The decorated impost moulding is continued around the piers except between the pairs of pilasters from which it springs on either side. There is no impost pilaster and no archivolt. The extreme depth of the monument and the high frieze give it the heavy appearance already alluded to. It dates from 195 A.D., as is shown by the inscription on the frieze.[1]

No. 55. LAMBÈSE III (Algeria).[2] At Lambèse are two other arches of similar construction. The first of these is situated at the end of the Septimian Way, which joins the town to the camp, and probably dates from the same period as the road.[3] The type, to judge from the portion which remains, is the same as that of Timgad (No. 50). Of the three openings, that in the centre is 5.01 m. and those on either side 2.345 m. broad between the walls of the passageway. They are all 2.07 m. deep. The passageways, with their flat ceiling, are exactly as at Timgad. The central archivolt did not reach the architrave. There are no niches above the side archivolts, which reach the level of the main imposts. The narrow pilasters of the main supports (four on each façade,

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 306. No. 307 is another somewhat similar inscription from the same arch.

[2] See Figure 10.

[3] See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, pp. 176–177, for this and the following arch.

as at Timgad) have marble bases. The pedestals which they had in common with the detached columns (which are no longer in existence) are higher in proportion to the width than those at Timgad, and reach nearly to the imposts of the side openings. A peculiar feature is the additional depth of the side piers, which on each façade project 0.34 m. from the imposts of the side openings. These imposts spring from this projection instead of from the side pilasters of the main supports, which are situated near the centre of the projecting piers. The pedestals of the side columns are of the same size as those in the centre, and therefore project 0.34 m. farther than these, so that the four columns when in place were not in line. At the outer corners of the piers are pilasters which project only on the ends, although the base-moulding sheathes the corner and joins that of the adjacent pilaster at the end of the façade. Of the columns, of the capitals of the pilasters, and of the entablature nothing remains.

No. 56. Lambèse IV (Algeria). Of similar construction to the last example, and therefore probably of the same period, is an arch situated at the same end of the town. The workmanship is poorer, and the structure contains fragments of earlier buildings. The arch presents a striking appearance on account of the alternate courses of light and dark stone used in its construction. The main opening is 4.95 m. and those on the side are 2.235 m. wide. The depth is 2.07 m. The arch has been much damaged. Part of the central and one of the side archivolts stand, while of the columns and entablature nothing remains. The impost mouldings of the side openings have a profile only towards the passageway. On the façades they are flush with the wall of the pier. The end piers are of the same depth as those in the centre, and have no pilasters on the outer corners.

No. 57. Announa I (ancient Thibalis, Algeria). This arch follows closely the plan of Mactaris II. It is included in this period rather than in the preceding, from the poor execution of the details, and from the use of higher column pedestals which follow more the analogy of the examples last described. The single opening (4.17 m. broad and 0.78 m. deep) has on either side two Corinthian pilasters, of which the outer is very near the outer corner of the pier. The free columns which once stood in front of these have disappeared. The narrow impost moulding is continued around the piers without cutting into the pilasters. The archivolt does not reach the architrave. The base of the monument is still buried, and the entablature, save for a few blocks, is destroyed. There are no niches between the pilasters.[1]

No. 58. Announa II (Algeria).[2] This arch not only follows its much earlier prototype at Saintes in having two passageways (a feature found only in these two, among free-standing arches), but it is also provided with the same two-story system of ornamentation. It is assigned to this period from the analogy of the details to other constructions of the time, and from the apparent connection with the arch just described, which faces it on the other side of a paved area, probably the Forum.

The arch is much damaged. Half of the central and one of the side piers are still standing. Of the archivolt which connected them, but a few of the voussoirs are in place. The passageways are 3.32 m. broad. The piers are 2.18 m. broad and 1.76 m.

[1] See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, p. 167.

[2] See Figure 11.

deep. They are surrounded by the impost mouldings, below which on all four of the corners are small, fluted pilasters with rude Corinthian capitals, of which the leaves are merely indicated, with no detail. Between the impost and entablature are no indicated supports. The architrave has a very debased profile and the frieze is narrow. The arch is constructed entirely of large blocks of stone, with no rubble core.[1]

No. 59. Oum-el-Abouab (ancient Seressita, Tunis).[2] This arch of one opening, 5.11 m. broad, is somewhat on the order of that of Bouf-tis (No. 42), although in this

Figure 12. — Arch at Oum-el-Abouab

case the supports are not doubled, and the pilasters (two on either side of the opening) continue through the impost moulding to the architrave. They rest on a high pedestal formed of the lower portion of the pier, which is surrounded on all sides by a top

[1] See Gsell, *loc. cit.*

[2] See Figure 12.

and a bottom moulding. The impost moulding also surrounds the piers except where it is broken by the shafts of the pilasters. As at Bouf-tis, the inner pilasters are close to the opening, so that above the impost they are in relief against the voussoirs. The outer pilasters are near the corners of the piers. On one façade they are fluted and cabled for their entire height. On the other they are left plain. Inside the passageway on one of the piers is the inscription[1] which reads : *Testamento C. M. . . . Felicis Armeniani equo publico adlecti optimae memoriae civis, arcus . . . ad cuius ornamenta Armenia Auge mater et Bebenia Pauliana soror liberalitate sua HS XXV mil. n. erogaverunt et die dedic. sportulas decurionib. et epulum et gymnasium municipib. dederunt, item municipium Seressitanum ad amplianda ornamenta quadrigam publica pec. fec.*

No. 60. Arch of Septimius Severus (Rome). The most elaborate arch of this period is situated in the Forum at Rome. There are three main passageways, of which that in the centre is 6.77 m. and those on the sides are 2.96 m. broad. In addition to these there are transverse openings in the two central piers connecting the three passageways. The ornamented impost mouldings of the transverse openings spring from the pedestals of the columns on the façades on either side of the main passageway, through which they continue as far as the transverse openings. They then pass through the transverse openings and after projecting under the archivolts stop against the walls of the side passageways. The archivolts of these openings are sunk. Those facing the main passageways have ornamental bands. All of the vaultings are coffered. The main impost moulding returns to the early system and springs directly from the wall beside the archivolt instead of from the pilaster, and continues through the passageway. There is no inner archivolt. Below the impost there are no pilasters, and the supporting wall, which has not even a base moulding, is cut into in a most inartistic manner by the impost mouldings of the transverse openings. The ornate archivolt does not reach the architrave except by the projecting key. This has scrolls on the sides, and bears on the front in high relief a figure of uncertain meaning. The upper portions of the spandrels have winged Victories bearing trophies. Below them are representations of the four seasons in the shape of winged *genii* bearing suitable attributes.

The treatment of the smaller openings is similar to that of the central one. The impost mouldings are not only continued through the passageway, but are also carried around the end piers after springing from the wall beside the pilasters at the end of the façades. Aside from this the ends of the arch are undecorated, save for a plain band at the same height and of the same width as the main impost moulding, and starting likewise from beside the end pilasters of the façades. The keys of the side openings bear figures in relief and project above to the narrow frieze. In the spandrels are river gods.

In front of each pier is a high pedestal, made still higher by a plinth of three courses, which gradually recede from the bottom toward the top. On the three faces of each pedestal are figures of prisoners with Phrygian caps, conducted by Roman soldiers. The same groups recur repeatedly on different pedestals. Above the pedestals are free-standing, fluted Composite columns, with slightly projecting pilasters of the

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 937.

same style on the wall behind. These bear the entablature, which projects over each column separately. The frieze is rather narrow, and is at present undecorated. Above is an attic with a high plinth and base moulding, and above all is a dentilated cornice. All of these members project over the two end columns only, and enclose a broad panel with a narrow, ornamental border. On the panels of either façade are still visible the duplicate inscriptions, of which only the cuttings for the inset bronze letters remain.[1] The words *optimis fortissimisque principibus* are inscribed over an erasure, which, from the original holes for fastening the bronze letters can be read as *P. Septimio L. fil. Getae nobilissimo Caesari; i.e.* an inscription to Geta, whose name after his murder was everywhere erased.

The interior of the attic is hollow and approached by a flight of steps in the south pier. Representations of the arch on coins[2] show above the attic the emperor in a chariot with trophies on either side, and over either end of the arch an equestrian figure.

Above the keys of the side openings on each façade are narrow friezes with an ornamental border. They represent the goddess Roma reviewing the spoils from the East. Between each of these friezes and the main architrave are two other reliefs occupying the entire space between the pilasters, and having but a slight line of demarcation. They represent sieges of cities, triumphal entries, and other events of the eastern campaigns. On one of them (below to the right, on the west façade) is represented a battering ram making a breach in the walls of a besieged city.[3]

The base of the arch is of travertine with a coating of marble. The rest is made of common marble with better varieties for the columns. At the time of its construction it did not stand over a road, but was approached by a flight of steps on the side toward the Forum. Later a road passed under it, and in the Middle Ages an alley of elms connected it with the Arch of Titus. As late as 1803 the side openings were walled up and rented as shops.[4]

No. 61. TEBESSA (Algeria).[5] This is a Janus arch, of which the decoration closely resembles that of the arch at Haidra (No. 54). The date is 214 A.D. The monument is square and all the façades are alike. The passageways are 4.60 m. broad and 8.30 m. deep. The piers are 3.17 m. square and the whole arch is 10.94 m. square, including the pedestals and columns. In front of each pier on either side of the passageway is a broad pedestal of nearly the width of the pier, of which the central portion projects as far as the bases of the columns, while the sides project still farther and bear the columns. The lower moulding of the pedestals is carried completely around the pier: the upper moulding merely along the façades. The detached columns are fluted and monolithic. The capitals are Corinthian, as are those of the

[1] *C.I.L.* VI, 1033.

[2] Cohen, *Sept. Sev.* Nos. 53 and 140.

[3] See Rossini, *op. cit.* pls. 50–59; Jordan, I, 2, p. 213; Reber, pp. 102–107; Gilbert, III, p. 191.

[4] The so-called Arch of the Money Changers of about this date is not really an arch at all, but consists of two small piers (3.20 m. apart) with Composite pilasters at the corners supporting a continuous entablature. The date as gathered from the inscription (*C.I.L.* VI, 1035) is 204 A.D. The whole is covered with reliefs and ornaments of various descriptions, including representations of the royal family in which the figure of Geta is chiselled out, as is his name from the inscription. See Reber, p. 346; Jordan, I, 2, p. 470.

[5] See Figure 13.

unchannelled pilasters on the wall behind. The entablature projects over the pair of columns on either side of the passageways, as at Haidra. The architrave has bands of decoration and a small cornice above. The frieze is high (1.25 m.) and had inscriptions over each of the openings. On the southeast façade is one of Caracalla, of the

FIGURE 13. — ARCH AT TEBESSA

year 214 A.D. On the northwest façade is a dedication to Julia Domna, the mother of the emperor. On the northeast façade are fragments of an inscription of Septimius Severus.[1] The one to the southwest is destroyed. The impost mouldings extend around the piers except where they are broken by the pilasters of the façades. The archivolts are on broad voussoirs which reach the architrave. On each keystone was a small relief, and above this a medallion filling the space to the architrave and taking the place of the projecting consoles of other arches. On the southeast façade is a head of Minerva in the medallion and a Medusa below. To the northwest is a figure of a woman with a turreted crown, possibly Fortuna, the goddess of Theveste. Below is an eagle with a thunderbolt. The other figures are for the most part destroyed. There are no inner archivolts, and the vaulting is without coffers. Above the central

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 1855, 1856, 1857.

space within are traces of a coffered ceiling. The whole monument bore some elaborate construction, which was possibly crowned with a dome. All that remains is a covered aedicula on the southwest side, framed by two Corinthian antae in front of very short walls. In front of these are small, free-standing, unfluted Corinthian columns. Above these is an entablature with a broad frieze and cornice. Gsell[1] surmises that there were three other similar constructions with arched openings between, and above them all a cupola. The arched openings would have come diagonally over the corners of the arch, giving an octagonal outline to the construction.

On the inside of the arch, to the right as one enters the city, is an inscription[2] setting forth the various bequests of C. Cornelius Egrilianus to the town, including the building of the arch itself. On the opposite side of the passageway are fragments of what was once a list of sixty-four days for the gymnasia.[3]

The arch is now built into the wall of the town, but once stood free. An inscription,[4] found in tearing down an adjacent wall, probably refers to restorations of the arch undertaken in 355–60 A.D.

No. 62. Zanfour (ancient Assuras, Tunis). This arch closely follows the last example in point of time. The inscription in honor of Caracalla on the frieze,[5] shows that it dates from 215 A.D. The inscription is now in eleven fragments.

The type of the arch is represented by several examples in North Africa. It is similar to that of Mactaris II, except that it had but one column before an unfluted Corinthian pilaster in the centre of each pier. These columns have now disappeared. The passageway is 5.60 m. broad. The archivolt is very narrow. The impost moulding continues around the piers except where it is broken by the pilasters.

No. 63. Medeina (ancient Althiburos, Tunis).[6] This arch resembles No. 62 in that the entablature has but a single support in the centre of each pier. On this account it is included here, although the date is uncertain. Of the inscription from the frieze,[7] only the letters IVSD remain. The passageway is 5.40 m. broad. At about one-third the distance from this to the outer corner of either pier is an engaged, unfluted Corinthian column, which reaches to the prolonged impost moulding only. Above the impost moulding pilasters which are now partially destroyed reached to the architrave. As neither the base moulding of the piers nor the impost moulding extended along the ends, the monument may have been a gate to some enclosure. The two-story form of decoration has but few parallels (cf. Saintes, No. 24, and Bouf-tis, No. 42).

No. 64. Constantine (ancient Cirta, Algeria). This arch was destroyed some sixty years ago.[8] It had one opening, 5.75 m. broad, and followed the usual type of the period in having two detached columns on pedestals before each pier. The inscription,[9] in which occurs the words *arcum triumphalem*, has already been referred to (p. 26). The builder, M. Caecilius Natalis, is mentioned in *C.I.L.* VIII, 6996, which dates from 210 A.D.

[1] *Op. cit.* I, pp. 180–185.
[2] *C.I.L.* VIII, 1858.
[3] *C.I.L.* VIII, 1859.
[4] *C.I.L.* VIII, 1860.
[5] *C.I.L.* VIII, 1798.
[6] See Figure 14.
[7] *C.I.L.* VIII, 1832.
[8] See Gsell, *op. cit.*
[9] *C.I.L.* VIII, 7094, 19434; 7095–7098.

No. 65. Djemila (ancient Cuiculum, Algeria). On this arch is another of the inscriptions with the words *arcum triumphalem*. The date is 216 A.D.[1] The arch is constructed of fine, hard limestone. The one opening is 4.34 m. broad. The impost moulding has various ornamental bands and a row of acanthus leaves. On the east

Figure 14. — Arch at Medeina

façade, at either extremity of the archivolt, is a head in relief. On either side of the passageway are two unfluted pilasters on high pedestals (cf. Haidra, No. 54; Announa I, No. 57, etc.). The columns which stood before these have disappeared. The entablature projected over each pair of columns and each projecting portion was probably crowned with a pediment formed of a single block of marble. Three of these, and a fragment of the fourth, lie near the arch on the ground. Between each pair of pilasters is a semicircular niche, which is arched and ribbed at the top in imitation of a shell.

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 8321.

No. 66. Dougga (Tunis).[1] This arch is unique among those ornamented with detached columns in that the outer pilasters sheathe the corners of the piers. If the inscription found in the neighborhood belongs to the arch, the date is in the reign of Alexander Severus.[2]

The arch has but one opening, 3.925 m. broad and 1.53 m. deep. The impost moulding has a very debased profile. It starts from the inner pilasters of the façades, and continues through the passageway. The voussoirs extend unbroken to the inner pilasters on the sides, and above to the course below the architrave. The archivolt is extremely narrow. Between the inner pilasters on the course below the architrave are alternating circular and diamond-shaped frames, with rosettes in the centre. The base of the piers projects 1.06 m. from the façades, and once bore the pedestals of the detached columns. None of the columns are now *in situ*, but there are many fragments of them on the ground near the arch. The pilasters which stood behind the columns are for the most part uninjured. They are fluted and have their lower portion cabled to the height of the imposts. The outer ones sheathe the outer corners of the piers. Between the pair on either side of the passageway is a framed rectangular niche. Below the frames of these niches, at the level of the impost mouldings, are bracket mouldings of a better profile.

Figure 15. — Arch at Dougga

No. 67. Rheims (France).[3] The traditional dating of this arch in the reign of Julian is clearly erroneous. The style of the reliefs makes probable its attribution to the period under discussion. The whole monument is unusually broad (33 m.). Of the three passageways, that in the centre is 5.07 m., and those on the sides 3.24 m. broad. All are 4.515 m. in depth. All of the imposts are at the same level. The archivolts are ornate, and have heads in relief on the keystones. That in the centre is somewhat higher than the other two, but does not reach the architrave. The vaultings are coffered and have in the centre of each a relief, framed by a frieze of weapons and figures. In the centre is the emperor, with figures of the four seasons. In

[1] See Figure 15. [2] *C.I.L.* VIII, 1485. [3] See Figure 16.

the side passageways are representations of Leda, and of Romulus and Remus. The impost mouldings spring from the wall, and are carried around the pilasters. The pilasters have a broad, decorated surface on the façades, but are extremely narrow within the passageways. The impost moulding is continued through the opening without being carried around the narrow face of the pilasters. On each façade are eight engaged Corinthian columns, fluted, and with the lower portion cabled. They are distributed in a unique manner, two on each pier, so that six adjoin the passageways and one is on each of the outer corners. At either end of the arch are two similar columns, also on the corners, so that they intersect the corner columns of the façades. The only parallel[1] to this is found at Aquino (No. 3). The entablature has disappeared except for portions of the architrave. It projected over the columns

FIGURE 16. — ARCH AT RHEIMS

of the façades in pairs, and over the end columns singly. Between each pair of columns on the façades are small niches with broad frames and crowned by pediments. Above these are medallions with busts in high relief. They are each supported by two winged figures. Between the columns at the ends were similar niches and medallions.

No. 68. LAODICEA (Syria). This is a Janus arch of uncertain date, but is generally ascribed to this period. It has two broad and two narrower façades. On the main façade the broad archivolt reaches the architrave. It has a stepped profile both without and within, and is supported by pilasters with Corinthian capitals. Closely adjoining these, and close to the outer corners of the piers, are unfluted Corinthian columns, of which the upper portions of the capitals reach the corner and intersect the capitals of the similar pilasters on the sides. The fillets below the capitals are also carried around the corner from the columns to the pilasters (cf. Rheims, No. 67, and Aquino, No. 3, where the shafts as well as the capitals intersect). The cross passageways are narrower, but are treated similarly. The entablature has a narrow frieze, with a curved profile and a dentilated cornice. It projects over the columns, and on

[1] At Laodicea (No. 68) portions of the capitals intersect.

the main façades forms a gable over the passageway. These gables occupy almost the entire height of the attic. Above the attic is another entablature.

Above the whole monument is a cupola of eleven courses and a key (cf. Tripolis, No. 48, and Tebessa, No. 61). This cupola rests upon an octagonal cornice-moulding within the arch, supported at the corners by pendentives, which are triangular in shape and gradually taper to a point below. The first course of the cupola within has a sculptured frieze of shields, cuirasses, and helmets.

No. 69. ZANA II (ancient Diana Veteranorum, Algeria). This arch of three openings dates from 217 A.D., as is shown by the inscription[1] from the attic. The type resembles that in Lambèse III (No. 55), but there are no corner pilasters, and the side piers are no deeper than those in the centre. The central opening is 3.90 m. broad. Those on the side are narrower and reach only to the height of the main imposts. The central archivolt reached the architrave. The passageways have vertical walls as in Lambèse III (No. 55). In front of each pier is the usual pedestal bearing the Corinthian pilasters. The columns have been destroyed. The entablature projected over the columns separately. On the attic one fragment of the inscription remains. The remainder is on the ground below. In Byzantine times the arch was incorporated into a fortress.[2]

No. 70. MUSTIS (Tunis). A fragmentary inscription shows that this arch was erected in 238 A.D.[3] Only the piers are now standing, supporting a few of the lower voussoirs, which show the profile of the two-stepped archivolt. The single passageway is 4.43 m. broad and 2.13 m. deep. In the centre of each pier on either side of the opening is a pedestal, which once bore a column. Of the piers themselves, the only ornament consists of the impost moulding and the prolonged base-moulding of the pedestals, both of which completely surround them. There were no pilasters behind the columns, a feature we have noticed at Athens (No. 40) and in the so-called Arch of Drusus at Rome (No. 53), but not before in North Africa. For the single columns in front of the piers compare the examples at Athens (No. 40) and Zana I (No. 49).[4]

No. 71. ARCH OF GALLIENUS (Rome). This arch probably had three passageways, although only the central one remains. The piers on either side of this are 1.40 m. broad and 3.50 m. deep, and the passageway itself is 7.30 m. broad. On the outer corners of the piers are unfluted Corinthian pilasters which support the non-projecting entablature. Springing from the pilasters are broad impost mouldings, which continue through the passageway. The three-stepped archivolt reaches the two-stepped architrave, which bears the inscription.[5] At either end of the arch are traces of what were probably smaller side passageways.[6] The only remains are a few of the lower blocks of the piers, which nearly fill the space between the pilasters at the ends of the central piers, and judging from the unfinished surfaces above them, probably reached to the height of the main architrave, but certainly no higher. At the

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 4598. [2] See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, pp. 177–179. [3] *C.I.L.* VIII, 1577; sup. 15572.

[4] At Bosra (Arabia) is an arch of three openings, of which no satisfactory description is at hand. The inscription dates from 244–249 A.D. (*C.I.L.* III, 99) and shows that the arch was dedicated to Julius Julianus.

[5] *C.I.L.* VI, 1106. [6] See Rossini, *Archi trionfali*, Rome, 1836.

level of the main imposts are mouldings similar to those of the central opening. They spring from the corner pilasters on the ends of the arch, and after forming a re-entrant angle continue along the abutting blocks. These blocks rest on a base which fills the space between the pilasters, and is on a higher level than the pilaster bases. From these details it would seem that on either side of the main arch were lower abutting arches of which the piers were of less depth. The imposts were on the same level as those in the centre.

No. 72. Sbeitla II (ancient Sufetula, Tunis).[1] The second arch at Sbeitla resembles the second at Mactaris (No. 45). The passageway is 5.60 m. broad, and 3.55 m.

Figure 17. — Arch at Sbeitla (II)

deep. There is no raised archivolt, but the voussoirs reach the architrave. The impost mouldings continue around the piers except between the pairs of pilasters. On either side of the passageway a broad pedestal of nearly the width of the pier projects 1.70 m. The lower moulding of this is carried around the pier. The pedestal is rather low, and bore both of the detached columns, which stood two in front of each pier. None of the columns is *in situ*, but numerous fragments are still visible in the

[1] See Figure 17.

neighborhood of the arch. Behind the columns were the usual unfluted pilasters. At the level of the impost between each pair of pilasters is a small, framed, rectangular niche. The entablature has an ornate architrave, a very high frieze, and a small cornice, all of which project over the columns in pairs. Above is an attic which projects over the columns singly. From the inscription[1] we learn that the arch dates from the time of Diocletian and Maximian. The names of the emperors were erased from the inscription after their death.

No. 73. Arch of Diocletian (*Arcus Novus*, Rome). This arch stood over the Via Lata, the modern Corso, near the spot at present occupied by the church of Sta. Maria in Via Lata, and was probably erected in honor of Diocletian and Maximian.[2] It was destroyed by Innocent VIII. (1484–92). From the arch came the fragments of reliefs[3] which were found near the church.[4] On the reliefs are represented trophies and human figures, one of which, in the garb of an Amazon, writes the words *Votis X et XX* upon a shield.[5]

No. 74. Saloniki (ancient Thessalonica, Macedonia). According to the investigations of Kinch[6] this arch is the largest of which any remains exist, being really a Janus arch with three passageways in one direction, and one in the other, and surmounted by a dome. At present there remains part of one of the main façades, and on the inner side of one of the piers the spring of the vaulting of the cross passageway. That it had a dome is shown by the arrangement of the bricks above the central passageway on the inside, which are laid as if they once received a construction of that nature. The monument is constructed of blocks of stone, with brick facing, and possibly had once a stucco or marble covering over the bricks. The two existing (central) piers are faced on all four sides with alternating vertical and horizontal slabs of marble, which bear a great variety of reliefs. Above these on three sides of the piers run the main impost mouldings. The side imposts have disappeared. The two central piers are preserved, and fragments of the one to the northeast are built into a house. The main opening has a width of 9.70 m., which is the greatest known. The vaulting is of brick. The side passageways were 4.85 m. broad. They are less deep than the central opening, and their vaulting is inset for some distance in the central piers. The wall above the central opening is higher than the walls on the sides, probably for the same reason as at Palmyra (No. 39), because the porticoes on either side of the street abutted over the side openings. Above each of the central piers is a shallow niche.

The date (between 297 and 305 A.D.) is derived from evidence in the reliefs,[7] on which we find represented two emperors and two imperial princes. In 297 Galerian vanquished Narses, king of Persia, and one relief with the inscription ποταμὸς Τίγρις represents an Oriental people as vanquished. Moreover, Galerian was the first

[1] *C.I.L.* VIII, 232.

[2] See *Notit. reg.* VII; *C.I.L.* VI, 31383; Ulrichs, *Beschr. Rom.* III, 3, p. 89; Richter, *Topog.* p. 261. Also Jordan, II, pp. 7, 102, 417; and Huelsen, *Bull. com.* 1895, p. 46.

[3] Matz-Duhn, No. 3525.

[4] Marliani, *Topog.* ed. 1534, p. 136.

[5] *C.I.L.* VI, 31383. Also cf. Arch of Constantine.

[6] Kinch, *L'arc de triomphe de Salonique*, Paris, 1890.

[7] See Kinch, *op. cit.*

emperor to inhabit Saloniki. The execution of the reliefs varies, but some are excellently carved.[1]

No. 75. KHAMISSA (ancient Thubursicum Numidarum, Algeria). Finally may be mentioned two arches of uncertain date, but which are certainly not earlier than this period. The first, that of Khamissa, is situated at the entrance to the Forum of that city. It has three openings, of which the central is 3.40 m. and the side 2.35 m. broad. All three are 1.33 m. deep. The only decoration consists of the base mouldings on the piers, which extend along the façades but not through the passageways, and the impost mouldings, which surround the piers. There is no raised archivolt. The entire upper portion of the monument above the voussoirs has been destroyed. On the side away from the Forum the arch is approached by steps, and could never have had columns on that side at least. The Byzantines incorporated it into a defensive wall, which partially accounts for its present state of ruin.[2]

No. 76. CARNUNTUM (Austria). The second arch of uncertain date is the Janus arch of Carnuntum. It is placed in this period because of the similarity of its construction to that of adjacent buildings, of which the date is shown by inscriptions, and because fragments of earlier buildings are used in its construction.

Two piers are standing, with a passageway between them which is 5.85 m. broad. The material is brick, with a covering of stucco. The impost mouldings are of stone, and continue through the passageway. The archivolts, also, were probably of stone. Traces of vaulting to the east show that the whole was a Janus arch, with two other piers which have disappeared. The area in the centre is paved and has a circular base in the middle. This shows that the arch did not span a road, and makes probable the supposition that it was a memorial of some description.

[1] For three other inscriptions of this period from arches which have been destroyed, see *C.I.L.* III, 450 (from Lesbos); *C.I.L.* VIII, 4764 (Marcomades, North Africa); *C.I.L.* VIII, sup. 15516 (Dougga, North Africa).

[2] See Gsell, *op. cit.* I, p. 174.

FIFTH PERIOD

CONSTANTINE TO END OF EMPIRE

THIS final period demands but brief treatment. Except for the arch in the Forum Boarium and that of Constantine, little remains but a few inscriptions. The workmanship in the extant specimens is careless, and large use is made of fragments of earlier constructions.

NO. 77. JANUS QUADRIFRONS (Rome). The location of the Janus arch in the Forum Boarium corresponds very well to that of the *arcus Constantini* mentioned in the *Notitia*,[1] and in addition the roughness of its construction, and the use of material from other buildings, seem to justify its assignment to the period in question. Four piers, 5.25 m. broad, support the intersecting barrel vaulting. To lessen the weight of the vaulting, empty amphorae form part of the material with which it is constructed. The passageways are 5.70 m. broad, and have the unusual height of 10.60 m. Each pier has a base moulding which completely surrounds it, and another moulding higher up which projects on the façades only, and has on the sides toward the passageways a framed panel of torus profile. The high impost moulding has the same profile as the entablature. It is carried around the piers with a projecting surface toward the passageways only. On the façades it is flush with the wall.

On either side of the passageway on each façade are six arched niches, three above and three below the impost moulding. On the west and east façades all of the niches, on the north and south façades only the central ones of each set of three, are deep. Of the false niches, probably those near the outer corners were not hollowed out because a deep niche on each side of a corner would have weakened the construction. Those near the inner corners received the same treatment for the sake of symmetry. The deep niches have a shell-like top with grooved ribs. On all of the niches the bands of the archivolts continue through the imposts to the base.

The archivolts of the passageways reach the architrave by projecting keystones which are ornamented with scrolls on the sides, and with figures in relief in the centre. Still recognizable are the figures of Minerva to the north, and of Roma to the east. Of the entablature, the frieze is narrow and has a torus profile. Fragments of columns found near the arch lead to the supposition that there were once small columns between the niches both above and below the impost mouldings. In one of the piers a stairway leads to the top of the arch.

NO. 78. ARCH OF CONSTANTINE (Rome). Although including in its construction a great many portions of earlier buildings, the general effect of this arch is little

[1] *Notit. reg.* XI; Richter, *Topog.* p. 182; Rossini, *Archi trionfali*, tav. 62.

inferior to that of the earlier monuments. The amalgamation of the various elements is well carried out. It is principally in the poorer execution of the details in the parts dating from the time the arch was constructed that the late period is recognizable. The plan is much like that of the Arch of Septimius Severus, except that here are no transverse passageways.

The central passageway is 6.58 m., the two side ones are 3.30 m. broad, and all are 7.40 m. deep. The main impost mouldings spring from the pilasters. The side impost mouldings spring from the wall. All are carried through the passageways, and in addition, the side mouldings spring from the wall on the outer corners of the piers as if they had pilasters below, and are carried across the ends of the arch. The vaulting is not coffered.

The pedestals below the columns have not the high bases of the Arch of Septimius Severus, and reach only to two-thirds the height of the side imposts. Both the upper and lower mouldings of the pedestals continue around the piers, the lower in profile, the upper as a raised band of the same height. The Corinthian columns are fluted and have their lower portions cabled. The entablature and members of the attic project above the columns singly. Within, the attic is hollow, and is approached by a stairway in the west pier. On the central panel on either side of the attic is an inscription.[1] In addition, below the architrave, above the side openings on the west façade, are the words *SIC X*, *SIC XX;* on the east façade, *VOTIS X*, *VOTIS XX*. Below the impost moulding in the main passageway are the words *Liberatori urbis*, *fundatori quietis*.

The arch is ornamented by a great variety of bas-reliefs of various degrees of excellence. Of the time of Constantine and of poor execution are the Victories, with captives at their feet on the front of the pedestals, and the chained barbarians on the sides, and also the Victories and river gods in the spandrels, and the long, narrow reliefs over the side openings and across the ends of the arch. Of like execution are the medallions above this narrow frieze on the ends, which imitate the excellent examples of the façades. Finally, the greater portion of the ornamental detail is badly executed and is clearly of a late period. On the other hand, the columns and pilasters, portions of the entablature, including the lower member of the cornice, and the remaining reliefs, are of superior execution, though not all of the time of Trajan. The eight reliefs on the attic, for example, situated two over each side passageway on either façade, seem to belong to the time of the Antonines.[2]

The early portions of the arch are erroneously supposed to be from an arch of Trajan's, which once stood in his Forum. The columns, however, if any portion of them date from that period, could not come from an arch, because at that time detached columns had no place in arch construction. Moreover, the four sections of bas-relief which are built into the arch, one on either side of the central passageway, and one on either end of the attic, belong to a continuous frieze of over 45 feet in length; too large to find a place on any arch. Of good workmanship, also, are the statues of captive barbarians which stand above the projecting ledges of the entablature in front of the attic. But an arch of the time of Trajan would not have offered projections broad enough to serve as bases for such statues.

[1] *C.I.L.* VI, 1139; date 315 A.D.

[2] See Petersen, *Röm. Mitth.* 1889, p. 314 seq.

FIGURE 18. — ARCH AT CILLIUM

The best executed of all the bas-reliefs are the eight medallions, situated two above each side opening on either façade, between the narrow frieze and the panel below the architrave.

No. 79. CILLIUM (Tunis).[1] This arch as it stands dates from a restoration of about 312 A.D.[2] It offers but few decorative features. The passageway is 3.65 m. broad and 2.02 m. deep. The piers are 3.14 m. broad. On their lower surface are traces of what were probably pilasters on the earlier arch. The impost mouldings surround the piers. The only other decoration at present consists of a low, double cornice enclosing an attic. Corresponding to the traces of the pilasters are projecting blocks below the lower cornice, supporting a projection of all the members above. The inscriptions are two in number. The first is of the early arch; the second has letters of a later period, and dates, according to Mommsen,[3] from a restoration of the arch by Constantine and Licinius in 312, after the overthrow of Maxentius.[4]

This completes the list of Imperial arches. The popularity of this class of monuments is attested by the number of the remains and the widespread area over which they are distributed. The fondness for such forms of decoration has survived to the present day, and scattered throughout Europe are numerous modern ornamental arches, some imitating the antique, and some of original design. Among the better-known examples may be mentioned the Siegesthor in Munich, the Marble Arch in London, the Arch of the Republic in Marseilles, the Arch of Triumph of St. Petersburg, the Arc du Carrousel and the enormous Arc de l'Étoile in Paris, and the Washington Arch in New York.

[1] See Figure 18. [2] *C.I.L.* VIII, 210. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] A few other arches, now destroyed, are known merely from inscriptions, as follows:

1. Arch at Constantine (Algeria), c. 360 A.D.; *C.I.L.* VIII, 7037–7038.
2. Arch at Hencir Gouçat (Algeria), 375–8 A.D.; *C.I.L.* VIII, 10702, 17616.
3. Arch of Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius (Rome). Stood near the approach to the Aelian bridge (Richter, *Topog.* p. 256); *C.I.L.* VI, 1184; date 382 A.D.
4. Arch of Arcadius, Honorius, and Theodosius (Rome). Situated probably near the last example (Richter, *Topog.* p. 257); *C.I.L.* VI, 1196; date 405 A.D.

THE PALIMPSEST OF CICERO'S *DE RE PUBLICA*

A TRANSCRIPTION, WITH INTRODUCTION

Being a supplement to: *Ciceronis liber De Republica rescriptus: Codex Vaticanus 5757*[1], *Mediolani apud U. Hoepli, 1907.*

By ALBERT WILLIAM VAN BUREN

PREFATORY NOTE

The transcription and introduction here presented are the result of an agreement made in the year 1903 between the Vatican Library and the American School of Classical Studies in Rome. At that time the Vatican Library suggested that, as its publication in facsimile of the palimpsest of Cicero's *De Re Publica* was not to be accompanied by a transcription of the under writing, the School would be doing a useful work if it should prepare such a transcription, with an introduction treating of the subjects connected with the palimpsest which were not to be discussed in the Library's publication itself. Realizing the assistance which such a transcription and introduction would afford to all interested in the *De Re Publica*, the Director agreed to adopt the suggestion, and I prepared the transcription in the years 1903 and 1904. In order not to cause unnecessary wear to the palimpsest itself, I used a copy of the facsimile most of the time while making the transcription, referring to the palimpsest itself for those portions of the text which were not clear in the facsimile. In a few instances, where I should have been glad of the opportunity to consult the palimpsest itself concerning certain questions which arose while I was revising my work in America, I had to content myself with the use of the facsimile alone. In my notes I occasionally quote DuRieu's collation (in *Schedae Vaticanae*, Lugduni-Batavorum, 1860), either for corroboration of my statements or as containing statements which are of value, but which I feel that my own observation does not warrant me in making myself.

As this is not an independent publication, but is designed to accompany the facsimile, I have not considered myself obliged to record *minutiae* after the manner, *e.g.*, of Studemund. For these, and also for the variation in hand in the corrections, the reader is referred to the facsimile.

I wish to record my obligation, in connection with this work, to Professor Richard Norton, former Director of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome; to

Professor Ludwig Traube of Munich, the sad news of whose death reached me only a few weeks ago; to Professor Hanns Oertel of Yale University; and to the members of the Committee on Publication, Professors Rolfe, Bennett, and Platner.

It remains to express, on behalf of the School and of myself personally, our appreciation of the courtesy of the Vatican Library, both in enabling us to coöperate with it in an important undertaking, and also in affording me abundant opportunity to examine a fragile parchment which is one of the chief treasures in its keeping.

INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this introduction to furnish full information concerning the ligatures, abbreviations, syllabic division, and orthographical peculiarities of the text. As a rule, under each class I either give all the individual cases (referred to by page, column, and line), or, when that seems unnecessary, state the number of cases which I have found.

LIGATURES

These occur, without exception, at the end of the line or within a very few letters of the end.

ae⁀	87 cases.	ui⁀	9 cases.
aec⁀	5 cases.	uid⁀	201. I. 14, 15.
aes⁀	223. I. 4; 276. II. 1.	uis⁀	299. II. 9.
aes⁀	67. I. 14.	uis⁀	199. II. 11.
aut⁀	278. I. 4.	uit⁀	48. II. 9.
as⁀	18. I. 2.	uit⁀	202. I. 4.
er⁀	160. II. 4; 207. II. 9.	uitas⁀	11. II. 15.
nc⁀	4 cases.	ul⁀	23 cases.
nos⁀	73. II. 4.	ulto⁀	297. I. 5.
ns⁀	16 cases.	um⁀	64 cases.
nt⁀	64 cases.	umi⁀	14. I. 14; 203. I. 8.
nta⁀	24. I. 11.	umit⁀	110. II. 14.
or⁀	21 cases.	un⁀	3 cases.
ores⁀	116. I. 12.	una⁀	203. II. 7.
ori⁀	159. II. 1.	unc⁀	58. I. 5.
os⁀	40 cases.	unt⁀	109. I. 12.
ost⁀	279. I. 15.	unū⁀	251. I. 9.
re⁀	9 cases.	unc⁀	5 cases.
re⁻⁀	55. I. 15.	unt⁀	22 cases.
ua⁀	3 cases.	uo⁀	254. I. 14.
ūa⁀ (=uam)	300. I. 15.	up⁀	129. I. 6.
uae⁀	5 cases.	ur⁀	60 cases.
ub⁀	260. II. 11.	ura⁀	203. II. 14; 208. II. 1.
ūe⁀	44. I. 3.	ure⁀	249. I. 13.

uri⌣|	252. I. 1.	us^{his}⌣|	88. I. 3.
uris⌣|	14. II. 5.	ut⌣|	14 cases.
ura⌣|	2. I. 7; 13. I. 1.	ute⁻⌣|	200. I. 6.
us⌣|	122 cases.	uti⌣|	22. II. 6.
usa⌣|	12. I. 15.		

ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations in the text consist chiefly of those prevalent in inscriptions. They are as follows:[1]

Praenomina:

a· = aulus	130. II. 6.
c· = gaius	41. I. 11; 44. II. 2; 74. I. 4; 201. II. 1; 210. I. 9.
g· = gaius[2]	42. II. 11; 63. I. 2.
l· = lucius	10 cases.
m· = marcus	7 cases.
* m̄· = marcus	63. II. 4.
* m· = manius	202. II. 12.
p· = publius	11 cases.
* p̄· = publius	204. II. 8.
q· = quintus	12. I. 13; 273. I. 4.
sp· = spurius	3 (4)[3] cases.
t· = titus	271. I. 11.
ti· = tiberius	249. I. 1.

Name of day:

non· = nonis	279. II. 9.

-bus, -que, etc.:

b· = -bus	122 cases.
b· = -bus–	106. I. 11½ (quib· da⁻|); 287. I. 9 (rob· tam).
q· = -que	230 cases.
q· = quae	20 cases (of these, 11 corr. by ⁻ above, 5 by adding ^{uae}).
q· = quae-, -quē-, quĕ-:	q·^{ueat} 158. II. 13; q̄·^{uae}sitast (= quaesita est) 192. I. 7; q̄· rim^{us}⌣ 206. II. 7; reliq·| runt 221. II. 14.

Political terminology:

cons· = consul, -is, etc. (*sing.*)[4]	56. II. 6; 59. II. 1.
cos· = consules, -um, etc. (*plu.*)[4]	7. I. 2; 41. I. 12; 130. II. 2; 130. II. 7.

[1] Those marked with the asterisk are not actually found in inscriptions, but are slight variants of epigraphical forms.

[2] This form occurs also in the Verona Livy; cf. Mommsen, *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1868, p. 161.

[3] The numbers in parentheses include the cases due to corrections.

[4] These abbreviations are of interest as perhaps giving an indication of the date of the Codex. The epigraphical abbreviations of *consul, -es* are discussed by De Rossi, *Inscr. Chr. Urb. Rom.* I, *Prolegomena*, XXI sqq. His conclusions are: Before the middle of the third century A.D., COS· (and perhaps COSS·) alone was used. Starting from the middle of the third century, to the names of the two consuls, given to-

mag·|	= magistratus	120. I. 1.
populi r·	= populi romani	38. I. 9; 278. II. 9.
p· r·	= populum romanum	40. II. 12.
p r	= populo romano (*abl.*)	259. I. 4.
resp·	= respublica	10 (11?) cases.
reip·	= reipublicae (*gen. dat. sing.*)	40 cases.
rei·p·	= reipublicae	249. II. 12.
r· p·	= reipublicae	187. II. 9.
reip·	= reipublicae	300. I. 4.
remp·	= rempublicam	35 cases.
re| p·	= rempublicam	6 cases.
rep·	= republica	41 cases.
r· p·	= republica	9. I. 18.
resp·	= respublicas	53. I. 2.
s· c·	= senatus consulto (*abl.*)	12. II. 5.
tr· pl·	= tribuni plebis (*nom. plu.*)	8. II. 16; 41. II. 9.
	= tribunis plebis (*abl. plu.*)	138. II. 1.

Miscellaneous:

p· bandum = probandum 235. II. 9.

Numerals:

14 cases, including X uiri 41. II. 12; X· uiris 184. I. 8; XX uiris 138. I. 14.

The dash, ¯*:*

This, = m or n, is placed either directly over a vowel or above the space to the right of it. It occurs only at the end of the line, except in the following cases, where it is followed by one small letter: 11. II. 9; 14. II. 6; 115. I. 13; 199. II. 4; 203. II. 10; 250. I. 7. (This is not found in inscriptions of the classical period.)

The following abbreviations are used in headings and subscriptions:

cicer·	= ciceronis	10. II. 1.
exp·	= explicit?	10. II. 3.
inc·	= incipit	10. II. 3; 156. I. 2.
lib·	= liber	10. II. 3; 156. I. 2.

gether, were added COSS·, CONS·, somewhat later CONSS·, CCSS·. COS· gradually fell into disuse during the latter part of the third century. After that time there is no certain case of its occurrence. CONS· is first used in 249, 279, of two consuls. In the time of Diocletian CONSS· is regular. From that time on, CONS· = (*one*) *consul*, CONSS· = (*two*) *consuls*. But this rule is often disregarded through the blunders of the stonecutters.

Accordingly, the usage of this Codex — CONS· in singular, COS· in plural — points toward the transition period, *i.e.* the third quarter of the third century. However, this evidence does not seem sufficiently strong, in itself, to justify one in dating the Codex at so early a period; the scribe, in copying an earlier manuscript, may have retained the forms of abbreviation which he found there.

Compare Mommsen's discussion of the Verona Livy, in *Abh. Berl. Akad.* 1868, pp. 31 ff. On page 158, he says: "Quo tempore Livii codex de quo agimus scriptus sit, certo determinari non potest, nisi quod uocabula quae sunt *consul* et *consules* sic notata CONS· et CONSS· ostendunt antiquarium qui librum scripsit non uixisse ante Diocletianum."

The following abbreviations are used at tops and bottoms of pages:

lib·	= liber	frequently at top of page.
de rep·	= de republica	frequently at top of page.
	(Also re p· pp. 42, 130, 244, 290; ·rep· pp. 136, 184, 238; rep̄[·] p. 6; re· pub· pp. 248, 254; d̄ē r̄ē p̄· p. 194.)	
q·	= quaternio	frequently at bottom of page. (Sometimes with dash or flourishes.)
Q·	= quaternio	bottom of p. 38.

Numerals are frequent; note ϛ = vi, pp. 14, 22.

SYLLABIC DIVISION

In this matter this Codex conforms in general to the principle, only recently recognized in full, that (1) a single consonant goes with the following vowel or diphthong; (2) when two or more consonants come together they are divided between the preceding and following syllables; but (3) in the case of a mute followed by a liquid, in ordinary speech, both are pronounced with the following vowel or diphthong.[1]

Regular		*Irregular*
l|b	135 cases.	sub|lito[2] 59. II. 8; sub|iecisset 72. II. 5; sub|est 225. II. 11; sub|ire 260. II. 11; sub|agreste 262. I. 4.
b|d	41. II. 10.	
b|h	81. II. 2.	
l|bl	4 cases.	
l|br	208. II. 11; 261. I. 15.	
b|s	88. II. 15.	
bs|c	51. II. 9; 172. I. 13.	
l|c	157 cases.	ne?|cessaria 4. II. 1 (see note); ne|c (corr. to q) 21. II. 6; ne|cessitas 90. II. 9; hic|ϕ 168. II. 10; hi (c erased) ceotus 211. I. 7; ne|cessarias 231. I. 5.
c|c	3 cases.	
c|ch	213. I. 2.	
c|fr	234. I. 2.	
l|cl	9 cases.	rc|h 103. I. 15. c(g?)|l 232. I. 1.

[1] For fuller discussion, see Charles E. Bennett, *Appendix to Bennett's Latin Grammar* (1895), pp. 30 ff.; William G. Hale, *Syllabification in Roman Speech*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, VII. (1896), pp. 249–271; and Walter Dennison, *Syllabification in Latin Inscriptions*, in *Classical Philology*, I. (1906), pp. 47–68.

[2] It has seemed advisable to arrange these compounds in this column, although it is clear that the scribe considered the first element, at any rate in writing, as distinct from the rest of the word.

	Regular	*Irregular*
c|qu	14. I. 8; 131. I. 12.	
|cr	6 cases.	
c|t	48 cases.	
c|tr	4 cases.	
|d	163 cases.	a^{d}|esse 158. II. 9.
		ad|iunxit 171. II. 9.
		pr^{ud}(^{d}del. ?)|dentissimi 164. I. 11.
d|d	8 (9?) cases.	
d|f	261. II. 4.	
d|fl	257. II. 15.	
		dg|n 300. II. 12.
d|h	161. II. 5; 190. II. 7.	
d|m	5 cases.	
d|qu	79. I. 9; 279. II. 14.	
|dr	99. I. 9; 99. II. 11; 296. II. 10.	
d|s	8 cases.	
d|sc	283. II. 13.	
d|u (cons.)	5 cases.	
|f	10 cases.	
f|f	4 cases.	
f|fr	93. I. 2; 107. II. 2.	
|fr	56. II. 2.	
|g	87 cases.	mag|istratus 119. II. 5.
g|g	232. II. 7.	
g|n	30 cases.	
gn|t	45. I. 1.	
|gr	4 cases.	
|h	12 cases.	
|l	165 (166) cases.	ſull|ſiſius (=tullius) 31. II. 15.
l|b	250. II. 6.	
l|d	99. II. 6.	
l|g	103. II. 8.	
l|l	63 cases.	bell|uarum 286. I. 10.
l|ph	16. I. 4.	
l|s	63. II. 7.	
l|t	25 cases.	
l|u (cons.)	15. II. 10; 286. I. 10.	

Regular		*Irregular*
|m	199 cases.	quā|m̄unda (=quam unda) 228. II. 11; quam|obrem 128. I. 14; 216. I. 3; 222. I. 4; 223. I. 14; quem|admodum 66. I. 3; 189. I. 14.
m|d	3 cases.	
m|m	26 (27) cases.	
m|n	57 cases.	aṁ|nis 173. I. 11.
m|p	34 cases.	
m|pl	10 cases.	
m|pr	11. I. 7; 21. I. 5.	
m|qu	29 cases.	
m|s	81. I. 9.	
m|t	5 cases.	
m|u (cons.)	5 cases.	
|n	261 cases.	i⁻|anem 71. I. 10; i⁻|est 279. II. 13; in|eundi 281. II. 13; in|imicum 286. II. 7; in|li(del.)quitatibus 96. I. 14.
n|b	58. I. 10; 179. II. 10.	
n|c	29 cases.	
n|ch	3. I. 7.	
n|cl	92. II. 9.	
n|cr	208. I. 9.	
nc|t	6 cases.	
n|d	100 cases.	
n|f	9 cases.	
n|fl	235. II. 5.	
n|g	19 cases.	
n|gr	4 (5) cases.	
n|gu (cons.)	100. II. 13; 243. I. 6; 277. I. 14.	
n|h	104. II. 14.	
n|i (cons.)	4 cases (-in in comp.).	
n|l	6 cases.	
n|m	3 cases.	

Regular		*Irregular*	
n|n	27 cases.		
n|p	8 cases.		
n|pr	59. I. 3; 259. II. 10.		
n|qu	18 cases.		
n|s	64 cases.		
		trans|l	40. II. 6; 267. I. 13.
		trans|m	39. II. 5.
in|st	27. II. 7; 82. II. 6.	ns|t	15 cases.
		ns|tr	72. II. 8; 203. II. 10; 208. I. 14.
n|t	200 (201) cases.		
[Note sunt|t(del. ?) existunt 258. II. 7.]			
disserünt|di	194. II. 9.		
nt|qu	152. II. 2.		
n|tr	7 cases.		
n|u (cons.)	12 cases (con- or in- in comp.).		
n|x	123. II. 8.		
|p	75 cases.		
|pl	4 cases.		
p|p	13 cases.		
p|pl	110. II. 13.		
p|pr	53. II. 1.		
|pr	45. II. 7; 127. I. 7.		
p|s	16 cases.	[Note princeps|s 80. I. 4.]	
p|t	22 cases.		
|qu	60 cases.		
|r	401 (402) cases.	adsequeⁿ|retur 124. I. 2; cu|r 33. I. 6; fertur|r 67. II. 13; interˢ|emisse 290. I. 3; inter|erat 94. II. 8; propterˢ|ea 86. I. 10; quar(r faint)|re 202. I. 2.	
r|b	22 cases.		
r|c	8 cases.		
r|ch	140. II. 5.		
r|d	3 cases.		
r|f	5 cases.		
r|g	12 cases.		
r|m	17 cases.		
r|n	20 cases.		
r|p	4 cases.		

Regular		*Irregular*
r|qu	7 cases.	
r|r	8 cases.	
r|s	23 cases.	
r|sp	253. II. 15.	
r|t	71 cases.	
r|th	46. I. 11 (168. II. 5).	
r|u (cons.) (of these 2 inter-, 1 per-, 1 propter-)	11 cases.	
|s	52 cases.	s|set 54. II. 6; tusculis|se 64. I. 7; forta|sse 110. II. 5; s|sint 175. II. 8; gr^{ais}|s 228. II. 10; ses|se 256. I. 2; s|suis (=suis) 276. II. 15; s|se 292. I. 12.
s|c	21 cases.	
s|cr	111. I. 3.	
s|d	24. II. 2; 76. I. 3.	
s|i (cons.)	237. II. 8.	
s|m	4 cases.	
s|n	43. II. 5.	
s|p	13 cases.	de|spicientem 142. II. 6.
s|qu	19 cases.	
s|s	120 cases.	
ipsis|stratus	258. II. 3.	
s|t (incl. prae^{s}|tare 54. I. 6; prae^{s}|tare 276. II. 1; prae^{s}|titisse 289. I. 11.) [Note s|tirpe 48. II. 8.]	60 (61) cases.	post|ea 191. II. 8; 279. I. 15. [Note post^{t}|tum (=post eum) 171. I. 6.]
s|th	277. I. 11.	
st|qu	38. I. 3.	
s|tr	24 cases.	
post|tridie	60. I. 4.	
s|u (cons.)	175. I. 2.	
|t [Note inperat|talis (= . . . . aliis) 117. II. 8; retine|t 146. I. 9; ut|t 258. II. 2; consulut (i corr. to t)|t 292. II. 5.]	405 cases.	metuerit|is 214. I. 15; tot|idem 66. I. 15.
|th	3 cases.	
|tr	13 cases.	t|r 174. I. 5.
t|t	5 cases.	[Note et|t 217. II. 6.]
septe et|triginta 239. II. 9.		

Regular		*Irregular*
|x	26 cases.	ex|emplari 81. II. 7; ex|ulem 245. I. 11; ex|acti 160. II. 5.
x|c	6 (7) cases.	
x|pl	216. I. 11.	
x|pr	4. I. 2; 243. II. 12.	
x|s	136. II. 2; 163. I. 7.	
x|t	4 cases.	
ex|truet	81. I. 11.	

ORTHOGRAPHICAL PECULIARITIES

Nouns, Pronouns, and Adjectives

First Declension:

Nouns in -ia, *dat. abl. plu. in*

-iis		-is
10 cases.	manib.	217. II. 8.

Second Declension:

Nouns in -ius, -ium, *gen. sing. in*

-ii		-i	
capitolii	15. II. 8.		
	→	enni	286. II. 13.
		horati	119. II. 8.
		iuli	41. I. 11; 42. II. 11.
		laeli	210. I. 13.
	→	mari	74. I. 4.
		opimi	73. II. 15.
		papiri	41. I. 11.
		pompili	171. I. 8; 217. I. 12½.
		potiti	119. II. 7.
tarquinii	3 cases.		
tatii	271. II. 12.	tanti	272. I. 11.
tiberii	213. I. 2.		
		ualeri	119. II. 7.
auxilii	219. II. 5.		
consilii	6 (7) cases.	consili	24. I. 4.
im(n)perii	7 (8) cases.	im(n)peri	135. I. 8; 185. I. 10; imperi 161. II. 6.
ingenii	4 cases.		
iudicii	52. II. 2.		
negotii	125. I. 13; 247. II. 6.		

-ii		-i	
officii	7. II. 4.		
otii	87. I. 9. →	oti	77. II. 10.
proelii	271. I. 7.		
suffragii	94. II. 1.		

Noun in **-eus**, *nom. plu. in*

-ii	-i
dii 149. II. 1 (first i deleted); 240. II. 9 (269. II. 15).	di 31. I. 11; 269. II. 15 (dii).

Nouns in **-ius**, *nom. plu. in*

-ii		-i	
aegyptii	17. II. 11.		
lacaedemonii	27. II. 12; 113. II. 14 →	lacaedemoni	71. II. 5.
rhodii	52. II. 11; rhodii 52. II. 12.	←	
taurii	27. I. 13.		

Pronouns in **-ius**, *etc.*, *nom. plu. in*

-ii		-i	
alii	277. I. 13. →	ali	53. I. 13; 55. I. 7; 97. I. 3 (alii).
ii	208. II. 10.		
iidem	84. I. 7.		

Adjectives in **-ius**, *etc.*, *nom. plu. in*

-ii	-i	
	pontifici	36. II. 12.
	regi	247. II. 1.

Nouns in **-ius**, **-ium**, *dat. abl. plu. in*

-iis		-is	
auspiciis	3 cases.		
caerimoniis	88. I. 11.		
comitiis	4 (5) cases.	comitis	284. I. 8; commitis 217. I. 10.
consiliis	155. I. 7; 179. II. 2.	consilis	125. II. 10.
gymnasiis	113. I. 11.		
indiciis	128. I. 12.	indicis	158. I. 9.
ingeniis	208. I. 7.		
initionis	213. I. 12.		
inpendiis	191. II. 14.		
iudiciis	248. I. 2.		
	→	matrimonis	271. I. 1.
negotiis	91. I. 6.		
officiis	91. I. 4.		
		pecunis	52. II. 7.

	→	i praesidis	258. II. 1.
		socis	213. II. 11.
spatiis	211. II. 10.		
studiis	9 cases.		
suffragiis	3 cases.		
	→	i supplicis	239. II. 6.
testimoniis	153. II. 8.		
uitiis	225. I. 6; 229. II. 12; →	i uitis	163. II. 12.

Noun in **-eus**, *dat. abl. plu. in*

-iis		-is	
diis	27. II. 3.	dis	246. II. 14.

Pronouns in **-ius**, *etc., dat. abl. plu. in*

-iis		-is	
aliis	5 cases.	alis	3 cases.
iis (hiis 188. I. 1; 229. II. 11.)	15 (17) cases.	i is 6 cases (incl. is 53. I. 4; i 9); also eis 19. I. 9.	is 291. I.
		i isdem 90. I. 5; sdem 64. I. 1.	

Adjectives in **-ius**, *dat. abl. plu. in*

-iis		is	
		iunis	279. II. 9.
aduersariis	89. II. 2.		
mediis	26. II. 10.		
necessariis	139. I. 12.		
	→	i patris	167. II. 13.
proletariis	94. II. 15.		
r propiis	49. I. 7.	propris	127. I. 7.
regiis	188. I. 1; 248. I. 2. →	i regis	218. II. 7.

Third Declension:

i- *and mixed stems, abl. sing. in*

-e		-i	
classe	94. I. 12.		
colle	67. II. 15; 68. I. 7.		
		exemplari	81. II. 7.
		mari	6 cases.
morte	130. I. 8; 256. I. 3.		

nocte	59. II. 8.
parte	4 cases.
[Note rege	12 (14) cases.
sorte	179. I. 5.
teste	268. I. 3.
excelsiore	35. II. 11.
firmiore	142. I. 7.
omne (*abl.*)	146. I. 15.
parente	41. II. 6
tarquiniense	32. I. 6.

regi (*abl.*)	271. I. 12.]
siti (*abl.*)	244. I. 7.
incredibili	290. II. 4.
inlustri	196. I. 7.
leni	19. II. 14; 101. II. 2.
militari	207. II. 2.
mortalitati	67. II. 4.
naturali	40. I. 4.
nobili	180. I. 15.
omni	19 (20) cases.
pestilenti	261. I. 15.
populari	116. II. 1.
procliui	226. I. 5.
recenti	256. II. 15.
regali	115. I. 15.
salubri	64. I. 9.
simili	3. II. 10; 184. II. 11.
singulari	237. II. 1.
tarquiniensi	174. II. 8.
tenui	114. I. 6.
uaganti	82. II. 3.

Consonant-stem, irregular abl. sing. in **-i**

iuri	124. II. 14 (but 8 cases of iure).

i- *and mixed stems, gen. plu. in*

-um	**-ium**
optimatum	243. I. 5.
titiensum	37. I. 3.
	optimatium 6 (7) cases.
	adulescentium 152. II. 9.
ciuitatum 81. II. 12; 143. I. 6 (228. II. 1).	ciuitatium 179. II. 3.
familiarum (*gen. plu.* of -ris) 200. I. 14.	familiarium 52. II. 5.
	locupletium 107. II. 6; 203. 1. 10.

i- and mixed stems, acc. plu. in

-es		-is	
a i.			
edes	35. II. 7.		
		artis	215. II. 7.
athenienses	226. II. 2.	atheniensis	1. I. 2.
ciues	106. I. 5; 129, II. 3.	ciuis	4 (6) cases.
ciuitates	237. II. 6.	ciuitatis	80. I. 12.
		classis	107. I. 12.
contr[e]actation[e]is	113. II. 1.		
fines	47. I. 6.	finis	47. I. 12.
		fontis	253. II. 13.
gentes	165. II. 11.	gentis	17. I. 8; 28. II. 5.
optimates	298. II. 2.	optimatis	54. II. 2.
partes	267. I. 5.	partis	6 cases.
		securis	120. II. 4.
→		similitudin[e]is	159. I. 14.
		ardentis	88. I. 6.
		capitalis	116. II. 9.
		communis	166. I. 11.
		compluris	56. I. 7.
		diligentis	37. II. 10.
		grandis	205. I. 6.
		immanis	69. II. 11.
		inexpiabilis	14. II. 8.
		innumerabilis	64. II. 11.
		impendentis	75. II. 11.
		locupletis	93. I. 13.
omnes	3 cases.	omnis	17 cases.
plures	3 cases.	pluris	23. I. 12.
prae[t]pol[e]entes	244. II. 9.	potentis	58. I. 2.
sapientes	79. II. 14.	sapientis	23. I. 15.
→		superior[e]is	280. I. 7.
		tris	272. II. 2.

Consonant-stem, irregular acc. plu. in **-is**

uirgin[e]is 262. II. 2 (but uirgines 88. I. 15).

VERBS

-st *for* est			
[a]brogatast	183. II. 5.	constitutast	41. I. 12.
bonist	13. I. 8.	ferest	249. II. 8.
conditast	241. II. 9.	iniquissimast	234. I. 13.

itast	31. II. 12.	q̄uae sitast	192. I. 7.
memoriaest	119. I. 10.	ratiost	41. II. 7; 200. I. 9.
modost	205. II. 9.	sublatast	35. I. 2.
natast	192. I. 11.	uerendumst	21. I. 10.
plenast	204. I. 12.		
positast	136. II. 7.	e ullast	39. I. 7.

DIPHTHONGS

Confusion of **ae** *and* **e**:

These are frequently confused. In most cases the mistakes were corrected; *e.g.* absurd͡ae 295. II. 5; acerb͡ae 183. II. 9.

Confusion of **e** *and* **oe**:

c͡epit (=cepit) 15. II. 3.

Retention of **oe**:

poenire 27. I. 3.

VOCALISM

Confusion of

e		*and* i	
ciuitates (*gen. sing.*)	58. I. 6.		
		e d͡ilabitur	226. I. 7.
i delecti	96. I. 6.		
i d͡ceret	137. I. 4.		
i effecit	20. II. 11.		
i euertèt	189. II. 10.		
e i incendir͡s	136. I. 6.		
intellego	114. II. 2.		
i intellegi	267. I. 14.		
intellegi	296. II. 5.		
neglegi	233. II. 7.		
i olympiad͡s (*gen. sing.*)	241. II. 11.		
i ueter͡s (*gen. sing.*)	228. II. 6.		
i uirtut͡s (*gen. sing.*)	180. I. 7.		

e	*and*	o
euers^{u-} 180. I. 4.		opore 294. II. 7.

e	*and*	u
In gerund and gerundive		
Verbs in -o, -ĕre:		
-end- 84 (86) cases.		gerundis 15. I. 7.
Verbs in -io, -ĕre:		
-iend- 7 cases.		
Verbs in -io, -īre:		
-iend- 7 cases.		oriundùm (in passage from Ennius) 149. II. 4.
eo, īre:		
		-eund- 5 cases.

Variation of i *and* u:

i	u
In superlatives	
224 (225) cases.	12 cases, as follows:
(I give only those words which are also spelt with u.)	aequissum^{i}- 203. I. 8.
	deterrim^{i}- 245. II. 9.
facillim- 5 cases.	facillum- 21. II. 11.
	gratissum- 27. II. 5.
grauissim- 5 cases.	grauissum- 73. II. 3.
maxim- 42 cases.	maxum- 14. I. 14; 17. I. 15; 251. II. 6.
optim- 46 cases.	optum- 115. I. 3; 199. I. 3; 203. I. 7.
[Note optimat 17 cases.	optumat- 298. II. 13.]
	uitiosissum- 297. II. 9.
In other words	
	ducatur^{i} 78. II. 8.

Confusion of

o	*and*	u
adhϕ^{u}c 270. II. 14.		
cernitϕ^{u}r 180. I. 11.		
cϕ^{u}nabulis 68. II. 3.		
		inuentur 203. I. 9.

WORDS IN -qu°/$_{u-}$ AND -u°/$_{u-}$

uol-/$_{uul-}$	uolgus, etc. 89. I. 12; 103. II. 8.	uulgus, etc., 180. II. 4; 291. I. 4; 295. I. 6.
	uolneribus 92. II. 1.	uulnere 291. II. 15.
	auolsum 63. II. 7.	
	uolt 110. II. 13.	?? uult 19. II. 14; uult 148. II. 11; 179. I. 14.
	uoltis 21. I. 8; 225. II. 10.	uultis 224. II. 6.
-uos/$_{-uus}$		saluus 179. I. 13.
qu-/$_{c-}$	aequa 51. II. 2; aequitate 203. I. 3.	aecus 96. I. 5; aecum 293. I. 4.
		cotidie 214. I. 3.
		[Note pecun- 129. I. 9; 204. I. 14; 292. I. 7.]
	reliqu- 10. I. 2; 82. II. 9; 119. II. 3; 177. II. 1; 193. I. 10; 211. I. 2; 232. I. 9; 293. II. 12; reliquios 35. I. 10.	relicu- 107. I. 9; 108. II. 10; 190. II. 13.
	→	u qam 216. I. 3.
		qe 6. I. 7; 299. II. 11 (?).
qum/$_{cum}$	quȯm 12. I. 8.	
	quȧm 22. I. 9; 202. I. 5.	cum 121 (122) cases.
	qum 16 cases.	

u *lost* (through the scribe's error?)

u mortus	172. I. 10.
quattor	108. II. 3½.

CONSONANTISM

v (CONSONANTAL)

v *lost between vowels:*

boȕum	239. I. 13.
deȕorum	80. I. 8.
die (=diue)	149. I. 13.

u pacuiano	17. I. 4.
pacuȕi	286. II. 6.

NASALS

Loss or insertion of m:

Within word

m popilio	217. I. 5.

At end of word

adulescentiaṁ	275. II. 4.
auctoritate- (*abl.*)	295. I. 11.

cursum	75. II. 15.
cursum	226. I. 5.

disciplinam 177. I. 9.
discriptionem (*abl.*) 177. I. 7.
fortunam 217. I. 3.
natum 295. I. 3.
partam (m del. ?) 290. I. 5.
prouidentiam (*abl.*) 157. I. 15.
quē (=quem) 44. I. 3.
regnantem 296. I. 2.
reliquam 186. I. 8.
rem p· 75. II. 13.
rerum 4. I. 10.
sermonem (*abl.*) 190. II. 9.
societatem 95. II. 8.

Variation of

sn	*and*	n
		a in 60. II. 4.
		a in 269. I. 5.
pergisne 43. II. 5.		
uidesne 280. II. 11.		s uidene 99. I. 7.
uidetisne 68. I. 12; 245. II. 3.		
uisne 274. II. 9.		

Variation of

ns	*and*	s
→		n ceses 253. I. 8.
→		n congraues 276. I. 13.
millies 203. II. 9; milliens 204. II. 12.		
triciens 204. II. 14.		
		quinquagesimo 279. II. 5.

Variation of

nct	*and*	ct
nanctum 34. II. 14.		nactus 189. II. 4; 274. I. 2.

MUTES

Variation of **b** *and* **v**:

b acerbius 260. II. 5.		u collocabit 271. I. 2.
u adscibit 271. II. 5.		b dabant 273. I. 12.
u adscibit 283. II. 13.		u gustabit 243. I. 7.
u appellabit 135. I. 2; 220. II. 6.		b inhecillis 175. I. 12.
uim audibus 295. I. 4.		u insitiba 172. II. 14.
b b hello 71. II. 2; helli 175. II. 10.		u iobis 57. I. 6.
b belubis 14. I. 11; helbast 300. II. 8 (but 3 cases of belu-).		iuuet (= iub-) 47. I. 3.
		u laudabisse 193. II. 11.

lauor- corr. to labor- 3 cases.
liuidin- corr. to libidin- 4 cases.
nouilior 103. II. 7.
perubreuiter. 229. II. 9.
priuatum 151. II. 2.
prouabiles 55. I. 14.
probatum 59. I. 7.
probauisse 193. I. 2.
adprouata[uissent] 216. II. 15.
salutauit 210. I. 4.
siui 91. II. 5.
siue 189. I. 9.
triuunt 234. I. 6.
tuuero 273. I. 4.
uellet 27. I. 1.
bita 33. I. 13 (but 13 cases of uita; uitale 46. I. 2).
uolsca- 24. II. 4.
uouisse 38. II. 14.
...]uem[... 235. II. 12.

Variation of

bs		*and*		ps
scribserint	119. I. 13.		scrips-	3 cases.
urbs	289. II. 1.		urps	251. II. 2.

bt		*and*		pt
scribtis	141. II. 2.		script-	4 cases.

p, ph, f. See the Greek words, pp. 109 f.

sfaera, etc. 4 cases (but 4 cases of sph-).

Absence of **p** *parasitic between* **m** *and* **s**:

consumserint 221. II. 4. | sumsit 81. I. 9.

p *parasitic, between* **m** *and* **t**:

sumptam 65. I. 5; sumptuosas 227. II. 2 (but sumta 40. II. 1; sumtum 69. I. 10; sumtis 209. II. 11).

temtaret 281. I. 12.

Variation of

d		*and*	t
		At end of word:	
ad	*passim.*		at (for ad) 19. I. 3; 125. II. 6 (corr. to ad); 246. II. 2; 269. I. 9; 269. II. 1 (t del. ?).
			atsint 141. I. 15.
aliquod (=aliquod) 6 cases.			
aliquod (=aliquot) 41. I. 14; 277. II. 12.			
aliud	103. I. 6.		aliut 6 cases.
apud	4 cases.		aput 17 cases.

essed	91. II. 9.
ed 3. I. 14; ed 59. I. 1.	
haud	4 cases.
id	*passim*.
illud	5 cases.
i-t-cidid	3. I. 11.
inquid	13 cases.
nequid	201. II. 4.
quod	*passim*.
quod (= quot) 23. II. 12; 66. II. 3.	
sed	93 cases.
ud (=ut)	161. II. 1.

esset	42 cases.
et	*passim*.
haut 145. II. 14; aut (=haud) 227. II. 8.	
it (=id)	86. I. 1.
illut	16 cases.
inquit	37 cases.
istut	61. II. 9; 215. II. 3.
quot (=quod) 40. I. 13.	
set	30 (32) cases.
posset (=posse sed) 9. II. 4.	

Within word:

adque	17 cases.
adqui 21. I. 9; 39. II. 12; 153. I. 4; 274. I. 2.	
datu- (=datum) 77. II. 7.	

atque	59 (60) cases.
atqui	41. II. 12 (21. I. 9).
quatragemo	296. II. 10.

t *and* th (see also pp. 109, 110).

cartaginem 168. II. 6;	karth- 46. I. 11; 63. I. 6.

c *between* n *and* t:
quinctilibus 280. I. 12.

Variation of

c *and* g

nec(g?)legat 152. I. 8; neclegere 161. II. 12; neclexit 249. I. 6.	neglegendam 86. I. 7; neglecturum 137. II. 1; neglegi 233. II. 7.
regere 85. II. 5.	
	segutus 7. I. 3.

c *and* k

cartaginem 168. II. 6.	karthag- 46. I. 11; 63. I. 6.

c *and* s

acservius 260. II. 5.	
essse (=esse) 200. II. 8.	
	hoc 218. I. 14.
	hoctilium 217. I. 6.

SPIRANTS

aut (=haud) 227. II. 8.	hortas 262. II. 1.
ominibus 8. II. 1.	nox (=nos) 166. II. 3.
inchoatum 3. I. 7; incohatum 132. I. 3.	

Confusion between single and double consonants:

f(f)l: afluen[tia] 62. II. 15.	m(m): flamam 243. II. 1.
l(l): belu- 5 cases; beluarum 286. I. 10; inbecilitas 62. II. 2.	p(p): apput 79. I. 14.

Loss of Syllable, Anaptyxis:

(Some of these instances are obviously mere blunders of the scribe.)

Shorter form	*Longer form*
aequablis 230. II. 5.	
auspcatu 189. I. 4.	
conpruisset 240. I. 7.	
	cubiculo 209. II. 12.
disciplin- 10 (11) cases; discilinis 199. II. 10.	discipulina 173. I. 1.
	gubernacula 84. I. 7; 179. I. 6.
	hercule, mehercule 6 cases.
muscorum 242. I. 3.	
	pericul- 10 cases.
saeclis 67. II. 2.	saecul- 4 cases.
	speculum 25. II. 11.
	uehiculis 3. I. 1.
uinclo 3. II. 8; uinclis 92. II. 9; uinclum 95. II. 5.	uinculum 169. II. 15; 251. I. 10.

Parasitic Vowel:

ispecies 109. I. 15.	

ASSIMILATION OF PREPOSITIONS IN COMPOSITION[1]

Not assimilated	*Assimilated*
	acc- 29 cases.
adf- 7 (9) cases (incl. adf- 266. I. 11).	aff- (corr. to adf-) 177. I. 1; 261. II. 15.

[1] See the collection of material, with discussion, by Professor C. D. Buck, *Notes on Latin Orthography: Assimilation in Prepositional Compounds*, in *Class. Rev.* XIII. (1899), pp. 156–167.

adfl- 3 cases.
adgn- 2 cases.
adl- 228. II. 13.
adm- 16 cases.
adn- 230. I. 4.
adp- 3 cases; atp- 273. I. 7.

adpr- 4 (5) cases.
adr- 54. II. 9; 175. I. 13.
ads- 19 cases.

adsc- 6 cases.

adsuetam 20. I. 13.
adt- 3 cases.

conf- 4 cases.
confl- 50. II. 15.

conl- 12 cases.
(in conlat-, conlig-, conloc-, conloqu-, conlustr-).
comm- 163. II. 2, 7; 271. II. 6.
comp- 7. II. 2; 130. I. 5; 131. II. 9.
conpruisset 240. I. 7.
conpensarem 259. I. 8.
compl- 119. I. 7; 230. I. 14.

const- 22 cases.
consuet- 4 cases.

ecferre 142. I. 14.
ecflorescere 75. I. 11.
ecfossum 137. I. 1.
ecfrenati 234. I. 2.

inb- 58. I. 10; 62. II. 2 (corr.); 175. I. 12 (inl-); 179. II. 10.
infl- 18. I. 14.
inl- 10 cases (inlecebras, inliberaliter, inludere, inlustr- 7 cases).
inm- 7 cases (immanibus, immens- 2 cases, immortales, immuta- 3 cases).

app- 26 cases. [Note atperniciosissimum 246. II. 2.]

adscibit 283. II. 13.

att- 9 cases.

congr- 276. I. 13.
coll- 8 cases (in colleg-, collig-, colloc-).

comm- 41 cases.
comp- 43. I. 14; 50. II. 13; 63. II. 9.

compl- 56. I. 7.
corr- 17. I. 14; 167. I. 15.
cost- 199. I. 10.

effic-, -fec- 11 cases.

effrenatam 243. II. 5.

imm- 8 (9) cases (imman- 4 cases, imminentem, immolare, immortal- 2 (3) cases).

inp- 31 cases, as follows:
- inpedimentum 126. II. 11.
- inpell-, -pul- 3 cases.
- inpendi- 191. II. 14; 270. II. 6 (corr.).
- inpend- 75. II. 11; 136. I. 14.
- inpensa 69. I. 6.
- inperat 117. II. 7.
- inperd (d del.?) itus 254. II. 2.
- i-|peri- 102. I. 11; 139. I. 9.
- inperi- 5 cases.
- inperitorum 166. I. 6.
- inpertit (last t del.?) 135. II. 13.
- i-|petus 89. I. 11.
- inpon-, -pos- 3 cases.
- inporta- 3 cases.
- inportun- 53. II. 8; 159. II. 15.
- inpur- 89. I. 15; 258. I. 3.

inpr- 10 (11) cases, as follows:
- inpr(e)ssit 3. II. 2.
- in prematur 83. II. 4.
- inprimis 7 cases.
- inprob- 90. I. 4; 259. II. 10.
- inr- 181. II. 9.
- inst- 21 cases.
- instr- 153. II. 9.

- obl- 22. I. 2.
- obs- 88. II. 14.
- obsc- 240. I. 6.
- obst- 279. II. 11.

imp- 33 cases, as follows:
- impedit 254. II. 13.
- impend- 2. II. 13; 14. II. 9.
- impera- 3 cases.
- imperit- 60. II. 10; 241. I. 3.
- imperi- 22 cases.
- imperit- 60. II. 10; 295. II. 4.
- impl- 101. II. 10; 205. I. 5.
- improb- 3 cases.

- occ- 4 cases.
- off- 4 cases.
- opp- 8 cases.
- oppr- 5 cases.
- opt- 282. II. 1.
- ost- 3 cases.

- redd- 230. II. 13.

- succ- 66. II. 5; 175. I. 15.
- suff- 3 cases.

subn-	255. I. 14.		
subp-	227. I. 10.	supp-	49. II. 9.
		suppl-	3 cases.
subr-	4 cases.		
substr-	243. I. 11.		
subt-	45. II. 14.	supt-	263. I. 15.
transf-	181. I. 11.		
transl-	267. I. 13.		
		tram-	74. II. 15.

ASSIMILATION (DISSIMILATION) IN NON-PREPOSITIONAL COMPOUNDS, ETC.

	Not assimilated	*Assimilated*
-dqu-		quicquam 4 cases.
-md-	aliquamdiu 15. I. 15.	
	eam̐dem 236. II. 15.	←
	iamdiu 164. II. 13.	
		iandudum 19. I. 1.
		quendam 17. II. 8; 199. II. 1.
-mp-	parumper 79. I. 9.	
-mm-		[Note tan mane 273. I. 10.]
-mqu-	numquam 8 cases.	
	qualiscumque 283. I. 4.	
	quamquam 4 cases.	
	quascumque 230. I. 7.	
	quemque 179. I. 15; 294. II. 6.	
	quicumque 54. I. 14.	[quicu⁻] q· 190. I. 9.]
	quocumque 19. II. 13; 110. II. 12.	
	tamquam 5 cases.	tanquam 133. I. 12.
	umquam 4 cases.	ũquam (=umquam) 133. I. 7.
	utrumque 234. I. 1.	
-mu (cons.)-	quamuis 83. II. 3; 234. I. 1.	
-nc-	→	nan̐cisci 273. II. 13.
-npl-	simplex 235. II. 9.	←
-nt-	[Note uoluntate 291. II. 10.	uolumtas 150. II. 2; uolun̐tas 150. I. 12; uolun̐tatum 4. I. 7.]

SIMPLIFICATION OF GROUPS OF CONSONANTS

Not simplified	*Simplified*
	susc- 3 cases.
	susp- 3 cases.

	sust- 5 cases.
[Note influ¢xit 173. I. 4.]	
	agnoscatis 190. I. 14.
	aspexit 263. II. 13.
exsanguem 277. I. 14.	[Note lex s anxit 119. II. 15.]
	[Note ex erua (=ex serua) 32. I. 6.]
exsist- 4 cases.	exist- 1. I. 6; 58. I. 3.
ex spectaret 49. II. 2.	expect- 7 cases.
	exta- 248. II. 12; 253. I. 6.
	extit- 7 cases.
	extru- 81. I. 11.
	exulem 245. I. 11.
	exulta- 160. II. 2; 255. I. 15.

GREEK WORDS

Greek words, except the more frequent, such as aegyptii, aetoli, alexander, were a source of difficulty to the scribe. The following are the words which caused error:

Correctly	*Incorrectly or unusually*
	a ratum 132. I. 6.
aratum 65. I. 13.	arcads(as?) I. 1. 1.
	areopogo 106. I. 13.
	us biris 27. I. 15.
	h corintium 173. II. 3.
corinth- 168. II. 7; 227. II. 7.	chorinthios 87. I. 15; -orum 173. II. 10.
	o cosme 8. II. 13.
	? en|nianes 228. I. 7.
	ifigenia 286. I. 1.
lacaedem- 5 cases.	
	olymp$um 165. I. 12.
	e o
peleponnesiacum 109. I. 7.	pøl¢ponnesus 227. II. 13; p¢eloponnesum 228. I. 6.
	ic peripateto 189. I. 11.

philosophorum	79. I. 4.	philosopum 123. II. 14; filosofi 124. II. 1; filosofari 286. II. 15.
		philoteo^{a} 34. II. 11.
philus	198. I. 10; 209. I. 15.	p[h]ilus, -e 216. II. 11; 222. II. 15; 224. I. 10; phile 269. I. 6; pilus, etc. 20. II. 10; 21. I. 1; 21. II. 14; 44. I. 9; 128. II. 14; 201. II. 2; pu(corr. to pi)lus 209. I. 12.
		philuntios (=phliunt-) 228. I. 1.
		ipsis^{i}stratus 258. II. 3.
platon-	7 cases.	plationem 243. II. 9.
		propyla^{i}ea 109. II. 5.
pythagor-	8 cases.	pytagoras 296. I. 8; phythagoras 14. I. 15.
		sole^{on} 191. I. 9.
sphaera	65. II. 10.	spherae^{a} 65. I. 15; spheram 66. I. 11; sphela 66. II. 7; sfaer- 44. II. 13; 103. I. 12; 140. II. 8; sferae 104. I. 14.
		^{B}ybarim 296. I. 5.
		athleta$^{a\ e}$ (= a thalete) 104. II. 4.
thaletem	279. I. 11.	teseus^{h} 277. I. 9.
		xerses 18. I. 13.
		xet[h]um 286. II. 5.
		^{s}myrnae 56. I. 5.

[Note: y (= *υ*) in Greek words, in 38 cases: assurios 24. II. 13.]

MISCELLANEOUS

		magnopere^{o}	56. I. 11.
tanto opere	103. II. 4; 181. I. 7.		
repperiatur	46. I. 3.		

lib· iii

praeter arcads	serendo mali
et atheniensis	qui in ea causa
qui credo timē	eo plus auctori
tes hoc interdic	tatis habent quia
tum iustitiae ne	cum de uiro bo
quando existe	no quaeritur
ret commenti	quem apertum
sunt se de terra	et simplicem
tamquam hos	uolumus esse
ex aruis muscu	non sunt in dis
los extitisse ad	putando uiri
haec illa dici so	non ueterato
lent primum	res non mali
ab iis qui mini	tiosi nega[n]t enī
me sunt in dis	sapientem id

Primum codicis folium, littera A *notatum, ad Ciceronis tractatum non pertinet.*

V. 2, super E, *litterae alicuius uestigium adesse uidetur.*

V. 4, ad fin., UIA *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 14, de I *extrema dubitari non potest, quamquam minus facile cernitur.*

Circo uirum bo
num esse quod
eum sua sponte
ac per se bonitas
et iustitia delec
tet sed quod ua
cut metu cura
sollicitudine
periculo uita
bonorum ui
rorum sit co⁻
tra autem impro
bis semper ali
q[u]i scrupus in
animis haereat

Semper iis an
te oculos iudi
cia et supplicia
uersentur nul
lum autem emo
lumentum es
se nullum inius
titia partum pre
mium tantum
semper ut time
as semper ut
adesse semper
ut impendere
aliquam poenā
putes damna

et
uehiculis
tarditati ea
demquae
cum accepis
set homines
inconditis
uocibus in
choatum
quiddam
et confusu⁻
sonantis i⁻
cidid has et
distinxit in
partis e ut sig
na quaeda⁻

Sic uerba re
b· inprassit
hominesq·
antea disso
ciatos iucu⁻
dissimo in
ter se sermo
nis uinclo
conligauit
a simili etia⁻
mente uocis
qui uideban
tur infiniti so
ni paucis no
tis inuentis

V. 4, ad fin., S *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 9, ad fin., dubitari potest, an uestigia litterae alterius adsint.

de· rep lib· ii

	sunt omnes	uitam ne	genere ipso	tas atq· his ip
	signati et ex	essaria tum	ac iure regi	sis tempori
	pressi quib·	inmultabi	am	bus dictator
	et conloqui	lis et aeter	quodque erat	etiam est ins
5	a cum abse⁻	na q· prima	ad potentia⁻	titutus dece⁻ 5
	tibus et indi	inpulit etia⁻	nobilium	fere annis
	cia uolum	ut suspicere	uel maximu⁻	post primos
	tatum et mo	mus in cae	uehementer	consules t·
	numenta	lum nec frus	id retineba	largius no
10	reru prae	tra siderum	tur populi	uumq· id ge 10
	teritarum	motus intu	comitia ne	nus imperii
	teneren	eremur di	essent rata	uisum est et
	tur accessit	numeratio	nisi ea patru⁻	proximum
	eo numerus	nibusq· noc	adprobauis	similitudi
15	res cum ad	tium ac die	set auctori	ni regiae sed 15

V. 1, ad fin., C *litterae uestigia adesse uidentur, chemicis intactae, et, ut uidetur, erasae.*

tamen om gerebantur minio sp· cas in ciuitate
summa quod
nia cum auc sed id fieri sio cos· secu conpensatio
con
toritate a pri- natura re tutu segutus sit et iuris et
cipibus cede- rum ipsa co est in quo de officii et mu
t
te populo te gebatur plus fuit fortas neris aut et
nebantur culum sibi se ratio sed potestatis sa
in
magnaeqe iuris populus tamen uin tis et magis
rés tempori adsciscerét cit ipsa reru- tratibus et
bus illis a for liberatus a publicaru- auctorita
a
tissimis uiris regibus no- natura sepa tis in princi
summo im longo inter rationem pum consilio
ae ni
perio prodi uallo idem tenet et libertatis
tis dictatori Sexto decimo quod initio in populo sit
bus atq· con fere anno dixi nisi ae non posse hunc
sulibus belli postumo co quabilis haec incommu

V. 7, de U *super uersum, post* Q, *scripto certe affirmare non ausim.*

V. 2, punctum super U, *atque v. 3, punctum super* U *primam, cerni non possunt.*

V. 3, supra, N *facile cernitur,* CO *fortasse scriptum est.*

tabilem reip· | it illos in h o | plenam esse | non modo
conseruari | minibus grae | iustitiae | illud falsum esse
statum nam | cis frenos | tum scipio ad | sine iniuria
cum esset | nam etiam | sen t ior ue | se non posset
ex aere alie | sparte a regna | ro renuntio | hoc uerissi
no commo | te theopompo | que uobis ni | mum esse si
ta ciuitas plebs | sunt item | hil esse quod | ne iniuria
montem sa | quinq· quos | adhuc de r· p· | non posset
crum prius | ill i ephoros | dictum pu | set hoc ueris
deinde aue | appellant in | temus aut | simum esse
tinum occu | creta aute | quo possimus | sine sum
pauit | decem qui | longius pro | ma iustitia
ac ne lycurgi | cosme o uo | gredi nisi erit | remp· geri nul
quidem dis | cantur ut | confirma | lo modo pos
ciplina tenu | contra con sulare imperium tr. pl. sic illi contra uim | tum | se set si placet

V. 16, M *altera minus facile cernitur.*

V. 4, lineola per S *alteram perducta haud plane cernitur.*

V. 8, propter Augustinianam scripturam puncta alia cerni non possunt.

de rep·

in hunc die⁻
hactenus re
liqua satis
enim mul
ta restant
differamus
in crastinu⁻
cum ita pla
cuisset finis
disputandi
in eum dis̄e⁻
putandi fac
tus est

M· TVLLI· CICER·

DE REP· LIBER· II·

EXP· INC· LIB· III·

netur egeat pos
tremo iur etiā
optimo optimo
omnib· miser
rimus esse ui
deatur contra
autem ille im
prob· laudetur·
colatur ab o⁻
nib· diligatur
omnes ad eu⁻
honores om
nia imperia o⁻
nes opes omnes
undiq· copiae

conferantur
uir deniq· opti
mus omnium
existimatione
et dignissimus
omni fortuna
optima iudice
tur quis tandē
erit tam demēs
qui dubitet utrū
se esse malit
quod in sin
gulis id est in po
pulis nulla est
tam stulta ciuitas

VV. 11, 12, puncta alia cerni non possunt.

V. 8, Q *minus facile cernitur.*

III. 18. 28. *pag. 12.*

quae non iniuſ
tàe imperare ma
lit quam serui
re iustàe nec
uero longius
abibo consul
ego quaesiui
quȯm uos mi
hi essetis in cō
silio de numa⁻
tino foedere
quis ignorabat
q· pompeium
fecisse foedus
eadem in causa

esse mancinū
alter uir opti
mus etiam sua
sit rogationē
me ex s· c· ferē
te alter acerri
me se defendit
si pudor quae
ritur si probi
tas si fides ma⁻
cinus haec at
tulit si ratio cō
silium prudē
tia pompeius
antistat utrū

III. 11. 18. *pag. 13.*

Sanxisset iura
nobis et omnes
idem et idem nō
alias aliis ute
rentur quaero
autem si iusti
hominis et si
bonist uiri pa
rere legib· qui
b· an quaecu⁻
q· erant at nec
inconstantia
uirtus recipit
nec uarietatē
natura patitur

legesque poena
non iustitia nos
tra comprobā
tur nihil habet
igitur natura
le ius ex quo il
lud efficitur
ne iustos qui
dem esse natu
ra an uero in
legib· uarieta
tem esse dicunt
natura autem
uiros bonos
eam iustitia⁻

V. 5, de ultima littera dubitari potest.
V. 11, supra, INT *haud plane cernitur.*

lib· ·ii·

Sequi quae sit
non eam quae
putetur esse
enim hoc bo
ni uiri et iusti
tribuere id qui
q· quod sit quo
q· dignum ec
quid ergo pri
mum mutis
tribuem us b uelu
bis non enim
mediocres ui
ri sed maxumi
et docti phytha

goras et em
pedocles una⁻
omnium ani
mantium cō
dicionem iuris
esse denuntiāt
clamantque
inexpiabilis poe
nas impende
re iis a quib· uio
latum sit ani
male scelus
est igitur no
cere bestiae quo
scelus qui uelit

xx ꝙ iii ??

ferebant et
enim illi in
iusto domi
nato atq· acer
bo aliquam
diu in rebus
gerundis
prospere for
tuna comi
tata est
Nam et omne
latium bello
deuicit et su
essam pome
tiam urbe⁻

Opulentam
refertamq·
cepit et ma
xima auri ar
gentiq· prae
da locuple
tatus uotu⁻
patris capito
lii aedifica
tione persol
uit et coloni
as deduxit
et institutis
eorum a quib·
ortus erat

V. 7, "*ex c. facta q*" (*Du R.*).
V. 7, de ultima littera dubitari potest.
V. 15, H *priorem deletam esse non liquet.*

V. 14, ad finem, an QUOD *scriptum fuerit, dubitari non potest.*

	dona magni	put ciuilis pru	iusta eadem	te aegyptiorū
	fica quasi li	dentiae in	omnib· nunc	quae plurimo
	bamenta prae	qua omnis	autem si quis	rum saeculo
	darum del	haec nostra	illo pacuiano	rum et euen
5	phos ad apol	uersatur o	inuehens alitū	torum memo 5
	linem misit	ratio	angulum cur	riam litteris
	hic ille iam uer	uidere itine	ru multas et	continet bo
	tetur orbis	ra flexusq·	uarias gentis	uem quenda-
	cuius natu	rerum publi	et urbes des	putari deum
10	ralem motu-	carum ut	picere et oculis	quem apim ae 10
	adque circu	cum sciatis	conlustrare	gyptii· nominant
	itum a primo	quo q· quae	possit uideat	multaq· alia
	discite adq·	res inclinet	primum in illa	portenta apud
	gnoscere	retinere aut	incorrupta	eosdem et cu
15	id enim est ca	ante possitis	maxume gen	iusq· generis 15

V. 9, de A *super* U, *certius affirmare non ausim;* U *litterae deletionis uestigia nulla adsunt.*

V. 11, tres ultimae litterae cerni non possunt; ET *potius quam* ANT *adesse putes.*

lib· ·ii

beluas nume	fan n iussisse	iandudum	ex omni se a
ro consecratas	dicitur quod	quaero et	natu pro ra
deorum dein	deos quorum	at quem cupio	ta parte esset
de graeciae si	domus esset o	peruenire	et tamen est s
cut aput nos de	nis hic mundus	rudentem p	ille prudens
lubra magni	inclusos parie	fortasse quae	qui ut saepe
fica humanis	tib· contineri	ris tuim ille	in africa ui
consecrata si	nefas esse du	istum ipsum	dimus imma
mulacris quae	ceret post autē	est tibi ex eis	ni et uastae
perse a nefaria	cum persis et	ipsis qui ad	insidens be
putauerunt	philippus qui cō	sunt bella co	luae coercet
eamq· unam	gitauit et alexā	pia uel ut a te	et???bel?uam ? ? ?
ob causam xer	der qui gessit	t ipso ordia	quocumq· ?
ses inflamma	hanc bellandi	re tum scipio	lt leui admo uu ? ?
ri atheniensiū	causam infe	atq· utinam	nitu non ac

V. 10, supra, A *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 3, ad fin., O *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 7, sexta littera I *esse, puncto supra posito, uidetur; sed valde incerta est.*

V. 9, E *tertia erasa est.*

V. 10, super A, *lineola, quasi* I *litterae pars superior, adest.*

VV. 12, 13, 14, plures litteras cernere non potui.

tu inflectit latet in ani Cati et pilus tire uideare
illam fera- mis hominu- praeclarum qum et ipse sis
noui e tibi cu- quaeq· pars uero causam quasi unicum
essem lega animi mens ad me defertis exemplum a-
tus saepe uidi uocatur no- quam me im tiquae probi
ergo ille in unam aut fa probitatis pa tatis et fidei ne
dus aut poe cilem ad subi trocinium sus q· sit ignota cō
nus unam gendum fre cipere uoltis suetudo tua cō
coercet belu nat et domat adqui id tibi ī trarias in par
am et eam do si quando id quit laelius ue tis disserendi
cilem et hu effecit quod rendumst si quod ita facil
manis mo perraro po ea dixeris quae lume uerum
ribus adsue test namq· contra iusti inueniri putes
tam et illa tenen tiam dici solet et pilus heia ue
at uero ea quae da est ferox ne sic etiam sē ro inquit gerā

V. 7, Q *in* C *mutata est, erasa hasta.*

III. 5. 8. *pag. 22.* *III. 4. 7.* *pag. 23.*

morem uo
bis et me obli
nam sciens quod
quoniam qui
aurum quae
runt non pu
tant sibi recu
sandum nos
quam iustitiā
quaeramus
rem multo ō
ni auro cario
rem nullam
profecto mo
lestiam fugere

debemus atq·
utinam quem
ad modum
oratione su⁻
usurus aliena
sic mihi ore uti
liceret alieno
nunc ea dicē
da sunt: l· furio
pilo quae car
neades grae
cus homo et
consuetus quod
commodum
esset uerbis

q xxcii

fuisse sapien
tiam tamen
hoc in ratio
ne utriusque
generis inter
fuit quod illi
uerbis et ari
dus aluerunt
naturae prī
cipia hi autē
institutis et
legib· pluris ue
ro haec tulit
una ciuitas
si minus sapie⁻

tis quoniam
id nomen il
li tam restric
tae tenent at
certe summa
laude dignos
quoniam sa
pientium prae
cepta et inue⁻
ta coluerunt
atque etiam
quod et sunt
laudandae
ciuitates et
fuerunt quo

V. 9, neque ○ super Q, *neque deletionis eiusdem litterae uestigia cerni possunt.*

V. 1, ad fin., punctum cerni non potest.

Niam id est ī rerum natu ra longe ma ximi consili constituere eam remp· quae possit esse diu turna si sin gulos nume remus in sī gulas quanta iam reperia tur uirorū excellentiū multitudo

quod Si aut italiae latium aut eius dem sabinā aut ṽolsca- gentem si sā nium si etru riam si mag nam illam graeciam cō lustriare ani moue tueri mus si deinde assurios si persas si poe nos si haec

dici possit tu- laelius uideo uideo iam illum quem expectabam uirum cui praeficias of ficio et mune ri huic sci licet africa nus uni pae ne nam in hoc fere uno sunt cetera ut numqua-

a se ipso ins tituendo co- templando q· discendant ut ad imita tionem sui uocet alios ut sese splen dore animi et uitae suae sicut specu lum praebe at ciuibus ut enim in fidibus aut

tibiis atq· ut	ex dissimil	rebat quod bel	ut poeni homi
in cantu	limarum uo	let graeciae fa	nes immolare
	cum mode	na poenire quae	et pium et diis
	ratione con	ne reficienda	immortalib·
	cors tamen	quidem grai	gratissumum
	efficitur et	putauerunt	esse duxerunt·
	congruens	ut esset poste	uitae uero in
	sic ex sum	ris ante os do	stituta sic dis
	mis et infimis	cumentum per	tant ut cretes
	et mediis et	sarum sceleris	et aetoli latro
	interiectis	sempiternum	cinari hones
	ordinibus	quam multi ut	tum putent la
ferre non	et sonis mo	tauri in axino	caedemonii
nt isque	derata ratio	ut rex aegypti	nos omnis agros
concentus	ne ciuitas co-	biris ut galli	esse dictitarint

Ceteras litteras plane cernere non potui.

V. 10. init., fortasse ES. *non* ET*; ad fin., de* ET *litterarum deletione dubitari potest.*

V. 13, init., fortasse UT, *non* ET.

quos spiculo demetunt nos
possent attin uero iustissi
gere athenie⁻ mi homines
ses iurare etiã qui transalpi
publice sole nas gentis oleã
bant omne⁻ et uitem serere
suam esse ter non sinimus
ram quae ole quo pluris sint
am flugesue nostra oliue
ferret galli tur ta nostraeq·
pe esse ducunt uineae quod
frumentum qum faciamus
manu quaere prudenter fa
re itaque arma cere dicimur
ti alienos agros iuste non dici

inuisius
que inuisius qui deniq· cu⁻
l
anima ullu⁻ omni homi
i
cogitare po num genere
test qui qua⁻ nullam iu
quam figu ris commu
ra est homi nionem nul
nis morum lam huma
tamen inita nitatis socie
te uastissimas tatem uelit
uincit beluas Sed erit hoc
quis enim hunc de genere no
hominem bis alius apti
rite dixerit or dicendi lo
qui sinbi cu⁻ cus cum res
suis ciuibus ipsa admonu

V. 8, "INITATE Admodum probabile est a 2 ueram lectionem esse emendatam, sed nunc latet sub Augustini loco correcto" (DuR.).

de rep. lib ii

erit ut in eos nes reges uo dam mortu um est enim
dicamus qui citauerunt umque esse quanta in si-
etiam ciui liberata iam qui soli in po cum duode gulos reges
tate domina pulos perpe quadragin rerum bona
tiones adpe tuam potes ta regnauis rum et utiliu-
tiuerunt tatem habe set annos fiat accessio
habetis igitur rent itaq· est tum laelius sed sequitur
primum or pe s u rius cassi nunc fit illut is qui mihi ui
tum tyran us et m· mani catonis cer detur ex om
ni nam hoc lius est puri tius nec tem nibus in rep·
nomen grae us maecius l poris unius uidisse pluri
ci regis inius regnum oc nec hominis mum itast
ti esse uolue cupare uo esse consti inquit scipio
runt nostri luisse dicti tutionem nam post eu-
quidem om sunt et modo reip· perspicu t seruius sul

V. 1, de duabus ultimis litteris dubitari potest; exspectes OS, *atque harum litterarum ligatura adesse potest.*

lib. i.

	pi⸍ius primus	tus ad epulaS	nino ad uita⁻	quaerere que⁻	
	iniusſtus po	regis adsiste	hominum	enim aucto	
	puli regna	ret non latu	adtinere di	rem de illo lo	
	uisse traditur	it scintilla in	xerit dein tu	cupletiorem	
5	quem ferunt	genii que ia⁻	bero nescio	platone lau	5
	ex erua tar	tum eluce	africanae cu	dare possumus	
	quiniense	bat in pueros	r ita memori	cuius in libris	
	natum cum	sic erat in o⁻	ae proditum	multis locis	
	esset ex quo	ni uel officio	sit socratem	ita loquitur	
10	dam regis cli	uel sermo	omnem ista⁻	socrate ut eti	10
	ente concep	ne sollers ita	disputatione⁻	am cum de mo	
	tus	que tarqui	reieciss et ta⁻	ribus de uir	
	Qui cum famu	nius qui ad	tum de bita et	tutibus deni	
	lorum nu	modum par	de moribus	que de rep· dis	
15	mero educa	uos tum ha	solitum esse	putent nume	15

V. 2, an S *secunda deleta sit, dubitari potest.*

V. 7, "puero" (Du R.).

V. 6, A *ult. deletionis lineolae uestigium solum superest.*

ros tamen liam et in sici lex illa tota p. ualerius et
et geometria- liam conten sublatast fasces primus
et hermonia- disse ut pytha hac mente tu- demitti ius
studeat pytha gorae inue- nostri maio sit cum dice
gorae morae ta perdisceret res et conla re contione
coniungere eumque et cu- tinum inno coepisset et
tum scipio sunt archyta ta centem sus edes suas de
ista ut dicis set rentino et picione cognati tulit sub ue
audisse te cre cum timaeo nis expule liam postea
do tubero pla locro multu- runt et reli quam quod
tonem socra fuisse et philo quios tarqui in excelsiore
te mortuo pri teo comme- nios offen loco uelidae
mum in ae tarios esse sione nomi coepisset ae
gyptum disce- nanctum cu- nis eadem dificare eo
di post in ita que eo tempo que mente ipso ubi rex

V. 3, **E** *alterius deletionis uestigia cerni non possunt.*

V. 5, prope finem, **A** *erasa esse uidetur.*

tullus habi tratus ciue⁻ que adhuc rinthios ui
tauerat sus romanum est retentus deo publicis
picionem po aduersus pro nec potuit ti equis equis
puli sensit uocatione⁻ tiensum et rha adsignan
5 moueri ide⁻ necaret neue mẽnsi̇̃um dis et alendis
ue
que in quo uerberaret et lucerum orborum et
fuit publico prouocatio mutare cu⁻ uiduarum
la maxime nem autem cuperet no tributis fuis
legem ad po etiam a regi mina quod se quondam
10 pulum tulit bus fuisse auctor ei su⁻ diligentis sed 10
nt
eam quae ce⁻ declara po⁻ ma gloria tamen prio
gloria
turiatis co tifici libris augur tatus rib· equitum
mitiis prima significant nauius no⁻' partibus secu⁻
lata est nostri etia⁻ erat dis additis
15 ne quis magis augurales atq· etiam cho ∞ · a ccc· fecit 15

VV. 5, 6 — DuR. — "*neue* | *ue uerberaret eras. pr. ue.*"
V. 12, ad fin., S *non modo puncto supra posito notata esse uidetur, sed etiam ipsa erasa esse.*

V. 5, de puncto super I *posito, quamvis evanido, dubitandum non est.*
V. 11, puncta super ORI *minus facile cernuntur.*

II. 20. 36. *pag. 38.*

equites nu
merumq· du
plicauit post
quam bello
subegit aequo
rum magna⁻
gentem et
ferocem et
reb· populi r·
imminen
tem idemq·
sabinos cum
a moenibus
urbis eppulis
set equitatu

fudit belloq·
deuicit
atque eunde⁻
primum lu
dos maximos
qui romani
dicti sunt fe
cisse accepi
mus eadem
q· in capitolio
ioui optimo
maximo bel
lo sabino in
ipsa pugna bo
uisse facien

Q xvii

II. 15. 29. *pag. 39.*

lib· ii

attigisse
neq· hoc inter
eos qui dilige⁻
tissime per
secuti sunt
temporum
annales ul
last umqua⁻
in dubitatio
ne uesatum
di inmorta
les inquit ma
nilius quan
tus iste est ho
minum et

quam inue
teratus error
ac tamen faci
le patior non
esse nos trans
marinis nec
inportatis ar
tib· eruditos
sed genuinis
domesticis
q· uirtutibus
adqui multo
id facilius cog
nosces inquit
africanus si

V. 2, post NEQ· *fuisse littera* F *uidetur, quae lineola et puncto deleta, postremo erasa est.*

de· rep· lib· ii·

progredien aliunde su⁻ res multis cum summa
tem rep· adq· ta meliora aput dicendis ui⁻ esset aucto
in optimum multo nos esse fac armento a ritas in sena
statum natu ta quam sibi rum a priua tu populo pa
rali quodam fuissent un tis in publicu⁻ tiente atque
itinere et cur de huc trans auerterant parente ini
su ueniente⁻ lata essent laeuis aes ta ratiost ut et
uideris adq· ubi pri tumatio pe consules set
quin hoc ipso mum extitis cudum in tr· pl· magis
sapientiam sent multa lege tratu se ab
maiorum sta intellegesq· non c· iuli p· papiri dicarent
tues esse lau non fortuito p· r· cos· consti atqui xuiri
dandam quot sed consilio tutast maxma po
multa intel et disciplina Set aliquod testate sine
leges etiam confirma ante annis prouocatio

Super V. 1, manu, ut uidetur, posteriore, sed ante Aug. scripturam, exaratas has litteras legi — DE PERT ? ? O, *lineolis paucis antecedentibus et sequentibus.*

V. 4, ad S *litteram, neque lineolam neque punctum cernere potui.*

ne creare⁻ uiros alios Quoniam est Caelum pos
tur qui et su⁻ subrogaue integrum li sideant ut u
mum impe · runt quo benter tibi lae terq· possede
rium habe rum non li ut de eo disse rit tum ma
rerent et le similiter fi ras equidem nilius pergis
ge scriberent des nec ius concessero i⁻ ne eam lae
qui cum x̄ ta titia lauda mo uero te au li artem inlu
bulas sum ta quo tame⁻ diamus nisi dere in qua
ma legum e collegio forte mani primum ex
aequitate laus est illa lius interdic cello ipse de
prudentia eximia g· iu tum aliquod inde sine qua
q· conscrip li qui homi inter duos scire nemo
sissent in a⁻ nem nobi soles putasse potest quid
num poste lem l· sestiu⁻ componen sit suum quid
rum dece⁻ cuius in cu dum ut ita quid alienu⁻

V. 11, A *minus facile cernitur.*
V. 14, suprā, deletionis uestigia minus facile cernuntur.

de rep.

Sed ista mox nunc audia mus philum qūe uideo maiori bus iam de re bus quam me aut qua⁻ p· mucium co⁻ suli tum pilus nihil noui uo bis adferam neque quod a me sit cogita tum aut inue⁻ tum nam me

Moria teneo c· sulpicium gallum doc tissimum ut scitis homine⁻ cum idem hoc uisum dice retur et esset casu aput m· marcellum qui cum eo consul fue rat sfaeram quam m· mar a u cellius captis

sexagiģn ta annis an tiquior quod erat xxxuiiii· ante prima⁻ olympiade⁻ condita et a⁻ tiquissimus ille lycurgus eadem uidit fere ītaq· ista ae quabilitas· atq· hoc tri plex rerum

publicarum genus uide tur mihi com mune nobis cum illis po pulis fuisse Sed quod pro prium sit in nostra rep· quo nihil pos sit esse prae clarius id per sequar si po tero subtilius quod erit eius

de· rep·

modi nihil
ut tale ulla i⁻
rep· reppeiia
tur haec eni⁻
uae
q· adhuc ex
ui
pos ita mix
ta fuerunt
et in hac ciui
tate et in la
caedemonio
rum et in kar
thaginien
sium ut tem
perata nullo
fuerint mo

do nam in
qua rep· est
unus aliquis
perpetua po
testate prae
sertim regia
quamuis in
a
ea sit et sena
i
tus ut tum fu
ėt romae cu⁻
erant reges
ut spartae ly
curgi legib·
ut
ut et sit aliquod
etiąm populi

omni m
tote sapientia
iuuet augere
opes amplifi
care diuitias
proferre fines
unde enim
?
set illa laus
summorum
imperator
incisa monu
mentis finis
imperii pro
? ???
gauit nisi ali
quid de alieno

accessi
perare quam
?
plurimis frui
uoluptatibus
pollere regna
re dominari
iustitia autē
prae ar
?
omnibus

q xuiii·

V. 9, ad fin., I *litterae super uersum scriptae uestigia cernuntur.*

V. 1, ad fin., M, *non* B, *satis facile cernitur;* US *cernere non potui.*

V. 6, ES, *quod chemicis intactum est, minus facile cernitur.*

V. 7, ad fin., ES *cerni non potest.*

In magna parte huius paginae Cic. scriptura cerni non potest.

lib· ·i

quid igitur effi
citur si sapien
tiae pareas diui
tiae potestates
opes honores
imperia regna
uel priuatis uel
populis sed quo
nia de rep· loqui
mur sunt inlus
triora quae pu
blice fiunt quo
niamq· eadem
est ratio iuris
in utroq· de po

puli sapientia
dicendum pu
to et iam omit
tam alios nos
ter hic populus
quem africa
nus hesterno
sermone a s
tirpe repetiuit
cuius imperio
iam orbis ter
rae tenetur ius
titia an sapien
tia est e mini
mo omnium

ac paene flu
minib· ipsis
obuium fer
re conserva-
dorum ciui
um causam
eisque propiis
periculis pare
commune
reliquis otiu-
neque enim
hac nos patria
lege genuit·
aut educauit
ut nulla qua

Si alimenta
ex
spectaret a no
bis ac tantum
modo nostris
ipsa commo
dis seruiens
tutum perfu
gium otio nos
tro suppedita
ret retarnquil
illum ad quie
tem locum
sed ut pluri
mas et maxi
mas nostri ani

V. 9, supra, de M *dubitari potest.*

V. 5, COMMO *ex* CUMMO *corr.*

Mi ingenii cō excusatione⁻ et talis est quae test esse dulci
siliϕ partis ipsa quo facilius que resp· qua us et quae si ae
sibi ad utilita otio perfrua⁻ lis eius aut na qua non est
tem suam pig tur certe mi tura aut uo ne libertas qui
nèraretur ta⁻ nime sunt au luntas qui il dem est qui au
tumque no dienda cum lam regit itaq· tem aequa po
bis in nostru⁻ ita dicunt ac nulla alia in test ese omitto
priùatum cedere ad re⁻ ciuitate nisi dicere in reg
usum quan p· plerumque in qua populi no ubi ne obs
tum ipsi su homines nul potestas sum cura quide⁻
peresse posset la re bona dig ma est ullum est aut dubia
tremiteretti nos cum qui domicilium seruitus set
am illa perfu bus compara libertas habet in istis ciuita
gia quae su ri sordidum qua quidem tib· in i quibus
munt sibi ad confligere certe nihil po uerbo sunt li

V. 12, init., T *erasa est; ad fin., fortasse puncta super* T¹ *adsunt.*

de rep

beri omnes
feruẹ́nt eni-
suffragia ma-
dant inperi
a magistra
tus ambiun
tur rogantur
set ea dant ma
gis que etiam
si nolint da-
da sint et que
ipsi non ha
bent unde ali
petunt sunt
enim exper

tes imperii co-
silii publici iu
dicii delecto
rum iudicu-
q· familiari
um uetusta
tibus aut pe
cunis ponde
rantur in li
bero autem
populo ut rho
dii ut rhodii
ut athenie̊ṡ
ṡe̊ṡ nemo est
ciuium qui

ceteras uero
resp· ne appel
landas quide-
putant is no
minibus qui
bus illae sese
appellari ue
lint cur enim
regem appelle-
iouis optimi
nomine ho
minem do
minandi cu
pidum aut in
perii singula

ris populo op
presso domi
nantem no-
tyrannum
potius tamen
inesse clemens
tyrannus qua-
rex inportu
nus potest ut
hoc populo
rum intersit
utrum comi
domino an as
pero seruiant
quin seruia

V. 8, initio, CUNIS *in* CUNIIS *corr.*
VV. 11–14, deletionis uestigia, alia quam indicaui, cernere non potui; V. 14, lineolae per ES *perductae minus facile cernuntur.*

V. 15, supra, de T *litterae hasta superiore dubitari potest.*

de· rep. lib· i

quidem fieri regio natus do usus etia- do rudes nec
non potest quo esset nam op studio disce uero nostra
autem modo timatis quide- dendi et doce- quaedam est
adsequi pote quis ferat qui di essemus instituenda
rat lacaedemo non populo auctores cu- noua et a no
illa cum praes concessus superiores bis inuenta ra
tare putaba et suis comi ali fuissent tio sed unius
tur disciplina tiis hoc sibi no in disputatio aetatis claris
reip· cum bo men adro nibus ex per simorum ac
nis uteretur gauerunt politi quoru- sapientissimo
iustisque re quid enim res gestae nul rum nostrae
gib cum est iudicatur is lae inuenire- ciuitatis uiro
habendus te optimus tur ali in gere- rum disputa
rex quicum doctrina ar do prouabi tio repetenda
que genere tibus studiis les in dissere- memoria

V. 9, d. E "*et forte x*" (*DuR.*). *V. 9,* C *minus facile cernitur.*

Est quae mihi	Missum puto	Sunt enim om	tur illi optima	
tibiq· quonda⁻	Nam cum p· a	nes qui in popu	tes si uero popu	
adulescentu	fricanus hic	lum uitae necis	lus plurimum	
lo est a p· rutilio	pauli filius fe	q· potestatem	potest omniaq·	
5 ꝓrumfo ẓmyr	riis latinis tu	habent tyran	eius arbitrio re	5
nae cum simul	ditano cons·	ni sed se iobis	guntur dicitur	
essemus com	et aquilio cons	optimi nomine	illa libertas est	
pluris dies ex	tituisset in hor	malunt reges	uero licentia	
posita in qua	tis esse fami	uocari qum au	sed qum alius	
10 nihil fere quod	liarissimiq·	tem certi prop	alium timet et	10
magnopere	eius ad eum	ter diuitias aut	homo hominē	
ad rationes	frequenter	genus aut ali	et ordo ordinē	
omnium re	per eos dies	quas opes rem	tum quia sibi	
rum pertine	uentaturos	p· teneant est	nemo confidit	
15 ret praeter	se esse dixissent	factio sed uoca⁻	quasi pactio fit	15

V. 5, sexta littera primo fuisse D, *postea in* O *correcta esse uidetur.*

lib. i.

inter populu⁻	riam nec accipe	fuit quod ipse	cons· ess et
et potentis ex	re aut et facere	hominem di	essemus in cas
quo existit id	et accipere aut	ligebam et in	tris pertubari
quod scipio lau	neutrum opti	primis dilige	exercitum
dabat coniunc	mum est facere	bam et in pri	nostrum re
tum ciuitates	impune si pos	mis patri meo	ligione et me
genus etenim	ses secundu⁻	paulo proba	tu quod sere
iustitiae non	nec facere nec	tum et carum	na nocte subi
natura nec uo	pati miserrimū	fuisse cogno	ito candens
luntas sed in	digladiari se⁻	ueram me	met plena lu
becillitas ma	per tum faciē	mini me ad	na defecisset
ter est nam qū	dis tum accipiē	modum adu	tum ille cum
de trib· unu⁻	dis iniuriis ita	lescentulo	legatus nos
esset opta du	qui primum	cum pater i⁻	ter esset an
aut facere iniu	illud adsequi	macedonia	no fere an

VV. 10–15 difficile cernuntur.

V. 13, punctum post TRIB *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 14, ESSET, *aliquae litterae minus facile cernuntur;* N *post* OPTA *cernere non potui.*

V. 9, ū *pallidissimum est, ut chemicis intactum.*

V. 1, lacuna post scripturam exstitisse, ex eo quod in pag. 60, v. 1, uidetur, demonstratur. Lacunam ET *litterarum spatium occupauisse probabile est.*

V. 3, supra, de R *dubitari potest.*

te quam con nam suo lu ma cum glo nia neque hoc
sul est decla mine non po ria belli do polliceor me
ratus haud set attingere mique uer effecturum
dubitauit post in tandem a i⁻ satos cum lo ut ne qua par
tridie palam quid tubero quar non co⁻ ticula in hoc
in castris do docere hoc mittam ut sit sermone prae
cere nullum poterat ille ho inlustrior termissa sit
esse prodigiu⁻ mines paene illa ipsa res de tum laelius
idq· et tum fac agrestes et qua dispute⁻ ego uero istut
tum esse et cer aput imperi quam oratio ipsum genus
tis temporib· tos audebat mea nec eni⁻ orationis quod
ẹs semper fu haec dicere hoc suscepi polliceris ex
turum cum illa e uero et ut tamqua⁻ p c ẹepto est
sol ita locatus magna qui magister per igitur inquit
fuisset ut lu dem cum sequerer o⁻ africanus resp·

V. 1, lacuna partem Q *litterae spatii occupauit.*
V. 2, ad fin., quin S *post* O *scripta fuerit, dubitari non potest.*
V. 11, ad fin., ESSE *adesse potest, quamuis euanidum; sed hunc locum in ipso codice non inuestigaui.*
V. 12, lineola per S *priorem perducta non cernitur.*

	res populi po	est non tam	petu libera	copiis aut quī
	pulus autem	inbecilitas	uissen nec g·	tus maximus
	non omnis	quam natu	duelius aulus	eneruauisset
	hominum	ralis quaedaˉ	atilius l· metel	aut marcellus
5	coetus quo	hominum	lus terrore	contudisset 5
	quomodo coˉ	quasi congre	karthaginis	aut a portis hu
	gregatus sed	gatio non est	non duo sci	ius urbis auol
	coetus multi	enim singu	piones oriens	sum p· africa
	tudinis iuris	larie nec soli	incendium	nus compulis
10	consensu et	uagum genus	¢ belli punici	set intra hos 10
	utilitatis coˉ	hoc set ita ge	secundi san	tium moenia
	munione so	neratum ut	guine suo	m· uero cato
	ciatus eius au	ne in omniuˉ	restinxissent	ni homini ig
	tem prima cau	quidem re	nec id excita	noto et nouo
15	sa coeundi	rum afluen	tum maiorib·	quo omnes 15

V. 9, I *prior ex parte erasa esse uidetur.*

V. 2, secundum Du Rieu, I. manus NT *scripserat; ad fin., punctum minus facile cernitur.*

V. 4, supra, super M *lineola certa, post* M *punctum incertum est.*

Qui sdem reb· la in his undis Se descripta⁻ rae genus in
studemus qua set tempesta cuius omne⁻ quo solis et
si exemplari tib· ad summa⁻ ornatum et unae motus
ad industria⁻ senectutem descriptione⁻ inessent et
uirtutemque maluit iacta sumptam ab earum quin
ducimur cer ri quam in il eudoxo mul que stellaru⁻
te licuit usculis la tranquilli tis annis post que errantes
e in otio delec tate atq· otio non astrolo et quasi uage
tare salubri et iucundissi gia scientia nominaren
propinquo lo me uiuere o sed poetica tur in illa sphae
co sed homo mitto innu quadam fa ra solida non
demens ut is merabilis ui cultate uer potuisse fini
ti putant cum ros quorum sib· aratum ri atq· in ea ad
cogeret eum singuli saluti extulisse hoc mirandum
necessitas nul huic ciuitati autem sphe esse inuentu⁻

V. 1, supra, I *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 7, supra, T *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 7, "I male dissecuit uocabula, quod II correxit erasa altera S*" (DuRieu).*

lib. i.

archimedi
quod excogi
tasset quem
ad modum
in dimssimil
limis motibus
inaequabiles
et uarios cur
sus seruaret
una conuer
sio hanc sphe
ram gallus
cum moue
ret fiebat ut
soli luna tot

idem conuer
sionib· in ae
re illo quod
diebus in ipso
caelo succe
deret et quo
et in caelo sphe
la solis fieret
eadem illa de
fectio et inci
deret luna tu⁻
metam
in eam quae
esset umbra
terre cum sol
l e regione

lib.

talitate credi
tum cum ia⁻
inueterata
uita hominu⁻
ac tractata
esset et cogni
ta sed pro
fecto tanta
fuit in eo uis
ingenii atq·
uirtutis ut id
de romulo
proculo iulio
homini agraes
ti cederetur

quod multis
iam ante sae
clis nullo alio
de mortalita
homines
credidissent
qui inpulsu pa
trum quo illa
se inuidiam
interitus ro
muli pellerent
in contione
dixisse fertur
r a se uisum
esse in eo colle

V. 14, ad fin., L *posterius scripta esse uidetur.*
V. 15, initio, L *erasa esse uidetur.*

V. 14, utrum AES *an* ES *legendum sit, parum liquet.*
V. 15, supra, R *parum facile cernitur.*

V. 8, ad fin., super A, I *littera adesse uidetur, sed ualde incerta est.*

rep

	romulum qui	nouum popu	sent discen	celebritates
	nunc quiri	lum neq· ut	daq· que obser	inuenit quib·
	nalis uocatur	in cṵnabulis	ɣɣɣɣ essent	rebus institu
	eum sibi ma⁻	uagientem	multa cons	tis ad huma
5	dasse ut popu	relictum et	tituit sed ea	nitatem adq· 5
	lum rogaret	adultum ia⁻	sine inpensa	mansuetudi
	ut sibi eo in col	et paene pube	sic religionib·	nem reuoca
	le delubrum	rem	colendis ope	uit animos
	fieret se deum	tum laelius	ram addidit	hominum
10	esse et quiri	nos uero ui	sumtum re	studiis bella⁻ 10
	num uocari	demus et te	mouit ut ide⁻	di tam imma
	uidetisne igi	quidem in	q· mercatus	nis ac feros
	tur unius ui	gressum ra	ludos omnes	sic ille cum u⁻
	ri consilio no⁻	tio ne ad disputa⁻	q· conueniu⁻	dequadragi⁻
15	solum ortu⁻	dum noua quae	di causas et	ta annos su⁻ 15

V. 6, "aduitum . . ex facta est L." (DuR.).

V. 2, supra, punctum ultimum minus facile cernitur. V. 3, super ESSENT *nulla puncta cerni possunt.*

ma in pace cō tatem reip· re Solens osten Quid etiam
cordiaquae bus confirma tatio neq· ora .b Mello illo ma
regnauisset .i tus religione⁻ tio abhorrens ximo quod
sequamur atq· clemen a persona ho athenienses
5 enim potissi ae tiam qui cum minis grauis et lacaedemo 5
mum polybi scipio dixisset simi rem eni⁻ i ni summa in
um nostrum uerene inquit magnam ad ter se conten
quo nemo fu manilius hoc secutus quod tione gesserunt
it in exquire⁻ memoriae hominibus pericles ille et
10 dis temporib· e . proditum sit r pertubatis i⁻ auctoritate 10
diligentior africanae anem religio et eloquentia
excessit e uita regem istum nem timore⁻ et consilio
duabus prae numam py que deiece princeps ciui
clarissimis thagoraene ip a. ret adq· eius tatis suae cu⁻
? ? ? ?
sius discipulum aut cer
15 ad diuturni ? ? ? ? te pythagoreum fuisse modi quiddam obscurato 15

Versus 15 et is qui praecedit, pallidissimi sunt; litterae, super quas ? signum posui, aut minus facile aut nullo modo cerni possunt.

V. 15, ad fin., DAM *posterius additum esse uidetur.*

V. 1, punctum super D *cernere non potui.*

Sole tenebrae tempore fieri tum non in quentata apud
factae essent et necessario a grecie portus illos etiam in
repetente a cum tota se per se seruatos grauissuma-
theniensiuq· luna sub or sed in barbari ciuitatem nos
animos sum bem solis sub ae sinus co- tram dicunt
mus timor iecisset itaq· fugisset qua- redundasse
occupauisset etsi non om adflixerat nec nam uel exili
docuisse ci ni intermens uero leuita um camilli
uis suos dici truo tamen tis athenien uel offensio
tur id quod id fieri non sium crude commemo
ipse ab anaxa posse nisi cer litatisque in ratur a halae
intermenstruo
gora cuius to tempore amplissimos uel inuidia
auditor fue cum quod i cius exem nasicae uel
rat acceperat cum dispu pla deficiunt expulsio lae
certo illut tando ratio t quae nata e fre natis uel opimi

q· ui·

V. 10, M *littera altera duabus lineolis deleta est.*
V. 11, in spatio post A, *erasae alicuius litterae* (D *formae non dissimilis*) *uestigia cerni possunt.* (I *uidetur fuisse, secundum DuR.*)

damnatio Silio ac peri teterrimus bes et quasi
uel fuga me culo sese in et ex hac uel circumitus i-
telli ⟨u⟩el acer illa uita atq· optimatium rebus publicis
bissima⟨e⟩ c· ma otio conser uel factiosa commutatio
ri ⟨i⟩ clades prin uatos putant tyrannica il num et uicis
cipum caedes grauius eti la uel regia situdinum
uel eorum am de nobis uel etiam per quos cum cog
multorum queruntur saepe popula nosse sapien
pestes quae pau et amantius ris itemq· ex tis est tum ue
lo post secut⟨ae⟩ sed haud faci ea genus ali ro prospicere
sunt nec ue le dixerim cur quod ecflo inpendentis
ro iam nomi cum ipsi disce- rescere ex il in guberna-
ne abstinent di aut uisen lis qu⟨a⟩e ante da rem⟨m⟩p· mo
et credo quia di causa ma dixi solet mi derantem
nostro con ria tramittant riq· sunt or cursu⟨m⟩ atq· in

	sua potestate	tribus hic lae	fuerunt et	tis generi ho
	retinentes^{m}	lius scio tibi ita	qui sunt pro	minum a na
	magni cuius	placere afri	cul ab ab aeta	tura tantum
	dam c^{i}ius et	can$^{}$e saepe	tis huius me	que amorem
5	diuini paene	enim ex te au	moria com	ad commune^{-}
	est uiri itaque	diui set tame^{-}	memorare	salutem defe^{-}
	quartum quod	nisi molestu^{-}	eos desino ne	dendam ^{d}atu^{-}
	dam genus	est ex trib· istis	quis se aut suo	ut ea ^{u}bis omni
	reip· maxime	modis rerum	rum m aliqu^{e}$^{-}$	a blandimenta
10	probandum	publicarum	praetermissu^{-}	^{u}toluptatis ^{i}otiq·
	esse sentio quod	uelim scire	quaeratur u	uicerit nec ue
	est ex his que	quod optimu^{-}	num hoc de	ro habere uir
	prima dixi mo	iudices nam	finio tantam	tutem satis
	deratum et	uel profuerit	esse necessi	est quasi arte^{-}
15	permixtum	aliquid ad cog	tatem uirtu	aliquam nisi

q· uiiii.

V. 2, "I in eo erat, ut scriberet: quia, ex A *statim fecit* S" *(Du R.).*

V. 9, punctum super M *positum minus facile cernitur.*

V. 7, de T *prioris deletionis uestigiis certe adfirmari non potest.*

utare etsi ars
quidem cum
ea non utare
scientia tame-
ipsa teneri po
test uirtus in
usu sui tota po
sita et usus au
tem eius est
maximus ci
uitatis guber
natio et earu-
ipsarum reru-
quasi istin an
gulis personant

reapse non o
ratione per
fectio nihil
enim dicitur
a philosophis
quod quide-
recte hones
teque ducatur
quod ab his par
tum confir
matumque
sit a quibus ci
uitatibus iu
ra descripta
sunt unde

di in primis
debui tollere
ac tamen si qui
sunt qui phi
losophorum
auctoritate
moueantur
dent operam
parumper ad
que audiant
eos quorum
summa est
auctoritas
apput doctis
simos homi

nes et gloria
quos ego exis
timo etiam si
qui ipsi remp·
non gesserint
tamen quoni
am de rep· mul
ta quesierint
et scripserint
functos esse
aliquo reip·
munere eos
uero septem
quos graeci sa
pientes nomi

V. 8, U *prior in* I *per rasuram corr.*

V. 8, super E *priorem, dubitari potest an fuerit scripta* A.

de rep.

Nauerunt o-
nis paena ui
deo in media
rep· esse uersa
tos neq· enim
est ulla res in
qua proprius
ad deorum
numen uir
tutis accedat
humana qua-
ciuitatis aut
condere no
uas aut con
seruare iam

Conditas qui
bus de reb· quo
niam nobis
contigit ut ide-
et in gerenda
rep· aliquid
essemus me
moria dignu-
consecuti et
in explican
dis rationib·
rerum ciui
lium quan
dam faculta
tem non mo

nusquam
est in graeco
rum libris
Nam princeps
s ille quo ne
mo in scribe-
do praestan
tior fuit are
am sibi sum
sit in qua ci
uitatem ex
truet arbitra
tu suo prae
claram ille
quidem for

tasse set a uita
hominum ab
horrentem
et a maiorib·
reliqui disse
ruerunt sine
ullo certo ex
emplari for
maque reip·
de generibus
et de rationi
bus ciuitatu-
tu mihi uide
ris utrumq·
facturus es

V. 2, de E *super* A *scripta confidenter dici non potest.*
V. 7, punctum quod super R *alteram cernitur deletionis signum esse uidetur, quamquam de hac re dubitari potest.*

V. 5, punctum super S *positum parum facile cernitur.*

V. 10, G *ex* C *facta est.*

enim ita in
gessus ut que
ipsę pęrias tri
buere aliis
malis quam
ut facit aut
platonem
socrates ipse
fingere et il
la de uerbis
situ reuoces
ad rationem
quae a romu
lo casu aut
necessitate

facta sunt p
et disputes no-
uaganti ora
tio defixa in
una rep· qua
re perge ut in
stituis prospi
cere enim ia-
uideor te re
liquos reqges
persequentē
quasi perfec
tam remp· er
go inquit sci
pio cum ille

V. 3, de P *secundae deletione dubitari potest; supra, post* EP, *alterius* P *uestigia adesse uidentur, erasae, ut puto.*

V. 10, ad fin., G *ex* U *dum scribitur facta esse uidetur.*

nisi tum con
sul autem es
se qui potui ni
si eum uitae
cursum tenu
issem a pueri
tia per quem
equestri loco
natus perue
nirem ad ho
norem am
plissimum
non igitur
potestas est
ex tempore

aut cum ue
lis opitulandi
reip· quamuis
ea prematur
periculis nisi
eo loco sis ut
tibi id facere
liceat maxi
meque hoc i-
hominum
doctorum
oratione mi
hi mirum ui
deri solet quod
qui tranquillo

V. 1, supra, CONSUL FUIS, *erasum, adesse uidetur; post* FUIS, *duae aliae litterae (ut* SE) *adfuisse uidentur.*

de rep. lib .i.

Mari guber tum etiam glo ac sapientib· tur cum quod
nare se negent riari solent sed in illo gene est multo pro
posse quo d nec didi se de rationi re exercitatis cliuius nulla
cer i nt nec u- bus rerum concedenda- necessitate
quam scire publicarum putant quare remp· re g ere
curauerint aut constitu qui conuenit nesciant equi
iidem ad gu endarum aut polliceri ope dem ut ueru-
bernacula se tuendarum ram suam rei esset sua uolu-
accessuros nihil nec didi p· tum deniq· tate sapiente-
profiteantur cisse umqua- e si necessitata descendere
excitatis ma nec docere cogantur cu- ad rationes
is
xim i m fluc earumque quod est mul ciuitatis non
tibus isti eni- rerum scie- to procliuius solere sin au
palam dicere tiam non doc nulla neces tem tempori
premente
atq· in eo mul tis hominib· sitate cogan bus cogeretur

V. 3, D *primae deletionis signa non cernuntur.*
V. 7, de prima littera dubitari potest; mihi uidetur F *in* I *mutata esse.*

V. 10, de puncto super A *alteram posito dubitari potest.*
V. 15, deletionis signa minus facile cernuntur.

V. 5, lineola per C *perducta minus facile cernitur.*

tum it munus
denique non
recusare ta
men arbitra
re hanc reru
ciuilium mi
nime negle
gendam sci
entiam sapi
enti propter
ea quod om
nia essent ei
praeparanda
quibus nes
ciret an ali

Quando uti
necesse esset
haec plurimis
a me uerbis
dicta sunt ob
eam causam
quod his libris
erat institu
ta et suscepta
mihi de rep·
disputatio q̄·
ne frustra
haberetur du
bitationem
ad remp· adeu-

docuitq sine
depopulatio
ne atque prae
da posse eos
colendi agris
abundari co-
modis omni
bus amorem
q· ϕϕ is tii et pa
cis iniecit in
quibus facil
lime iustitia
et fides con
ualescit et quo
rum patroimo

nio maxime
cultums agro
rum perceptio
q· frugum de
fenditur ide-
q· pompilius
et auspiciis ma
ioribus inue-
tis ad pristinu-
numerum
duo augures
addidit et sa
cris et princi
pum numero
pontifices qui-

V. 9, supra, o *parum facile cernitur.*
V. 15, fortasse potius c *post* PATR *adfuit, et punctum super* M *alteram, quae in* N *per rasuram corr. esse videtur.*

que praefecit gines uesta autem mul puris atq· in
et animos pro les omnisq· titudine pre manibus ad
positis legibus his partis religio sertim incita uersariis de
quas in mo nis statuit ta miserum certantem
numentis ha sanctissime et periculosu- uel contume
bemus arde- sacrorum sit quam ob re- liarum uer
tis consuetu autem ipsoru- neq· sapientis bera subire
dine et cupi diligentiam esse accipere uel expectare
ditate ꝑ bella- difficilem ap habenas cum sapienti non
di religionu- paratum per insanos atq· iniu ferendas ri
caerimoniis facilem esse indomitos i- as proinde
mitigauit ad uoluit nam petus uolgi qu asi bonis
iunxitq· prae a que perdisce- non cohibere pos et fortibus et
terea flami da quaeq· ob sit neque li magno ani
nes salios uir seruanda es e beriꝫ cum in mo praeditis

V. 8, ad fin., post PI, *uestigia litterae erasae adesse uidentur.*

V. 15, supra, de E *dubitari potest.*

V. 12, post QU, I *primo scripta, deinde erasa esse uidetur.*

de· rep· lib· i·

Ulla sit ad re- entem sus
p· adeundi cau cepturum ul
sa iustior qua- lam reip· par
pareant
ne inprobis ne tem extra qua-
ue ab isdem si eum tempus
lacelari rem et necessitas
n
p· patiatur cu- coegerit qua
ipsi auxilium si uero maior
ferre si cupiant cuiquam ne
c
non queant il essitas acci
i
la autem ex dere possit
ceptio cui pro quam accidit
bari tandem nobis in qua
potest quod quid facere
negant sapi potuissem

In tantis reb· rum uideri
se etiam in me solet naturae
diocribus uel se consumi et
studiis uel of senectute qua-
b
ficiis uel uero sui dari tem
etiam nego pus ut possint
tiis contem eam uitam
nendum ad quae tamen
un
iungitur pe essed redden
a
ricula uitae tur dum naturae
pisq· ab his for pro patria po
mido mortis tissimum red
fortib· uiris op dere uero illo
ponitur quib· se loco copio
magis id mise sos ed disertos

V. 4, supra, ad fin., T *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 2, ad fin., E, *quae cum* A *coniuncta est, erasa esse uidetur; at nunc facile cernitur.*

Putant cum	uolneribus	neque exclu	ab aere dan	
calamitates	iis q̄· corpore	deretur suf	do eos qui aut	
clarissimoru⁻	aduerso in	fragiis ne su	non plus mil	
uiorum in	clarissima uic	perbum esset	le centum ae	
iuriasq· iis ab	toria accepis	nec ualeret	ris aut omni	
ingratis inpo	set uitam ex	nimis ne es	noñ nihil in	
sitas ciuib· col	hostium tel is	set periculo	suum censu⁻	
ligunt hinc e	seruatam in	sum in quo	praeter caput	
nim illa et apud	ciuium uin	etiam uerbis	attulissent	
graecos exe⁻	clis profudis	ac nominib·	proletarios	
pla miltiadem	se et themisto	ipsis fuit dili	nominauit	
uictorem do	clem patria	gens qui cu⁻	ut ex iis qua	
mitoremque	quam libera	locupletis ad	si proles id est	
persarum no⁻	uisset pulsum	siduos	quasi proge	
dum sanatis	atq· proterri	appellasset	nies ciuitatis	

V. 4, deletionis lineola per U *ducta minus facile cernitur.*

V. 7, primo, ut uidetur, TELLIS (TELVS?); *postea* L *altera erasa est.*

V. 13, ad fin., fortasse fuit ADS.

V. 14, de UM *litterarum deletionis signis dubitari potest.*

V. 6, utrum lineola deletionis per N *secundam ducta sit, dubitari potest.*

	expectari	iure suffra	unum uoca	omnia atque
	uideretur	gii et iis uale	mus et regnu-	horum triu-
	illarum au	bit in suffra	eius reip· sta	generum quod
	tem sex et no	gio et is uale	tum cum au	uis si teneat
5	naginta ce-	bit in suffra	tem est penes	illut uinclum	5
	turiarum	gio plurimu-	delectos tu-	quod primum
	in una cen	cuius pluri	illa ciuitas op	homines in
	turia tum qui	mum inter	timatium ar	ter se reip· so
	dem plures	erat esse in op	bitro regi di	cietatem de
10	censebantur	timo statu	citur illa au	uinxit non per	10
	quam paene	ciuitatem	tem est ciui	fectum illut
	in prima clas	quin etiam	tas popularis	quidem ne
	se tota ita nec	accensis ue	sic enim appel	que mea senten
	prohibebatur	latis ///cinib·	lant in qua i-	tia optimum
15	quisquam	proletariis	populo sunt	sed tolerabile	15

V. 13, ad fin., TEN *erasum esse uidetur.*

	tamen et ali	aut cupidita	uideamus a⁻	benda quam
	ut alio possit	tibus posse ui	te quam ueni	ratio quaere⁻
	esse praesta⁻	detur aliquo	i unt ali quidna⁻	da sit hic scipio
	tius nam uel	esse non in	sit de isto alte	quam uelle⁻
5	rex aecus ac	certo statu	ro sole quȩ sȩ	panaetium 5
	i sapiens uel de	set et in reg	lȩ quod nun	nostrum no
	lecti ac princi	nis nimis ex	tiatum est in	biscum habe
	pes ciues uel ip	pertes sunt ce	senatu neque	remus qui cu⁻
	se populus quā	teri commu	enim pauci	cetera tum
10	quam id est	nis iuris et co⁻	neque leues	haec caeles 10
	minime pro	silii et in opti	sunt qui se	tia uel studio
	bandum ta	matium do	duo soles ui	sissime solet
	men nullis	minatu uix	disse dicant	quaerere sed
	i interiectis in	particeps liber	ut non tam	ego tubero
15	quitatibus	tatis potest esse	fides non ha	nam tecum 15

V. 1, fortasse ĖT; *puncta, si adsunt, pallidissima.*
V. 14, supra, de I *dubitari potest.*
V. 15, initio, I *primo adfuit, postea erasa est.*

V. 5, "post U *littera erasa est," recte Mau; supra, punctum adhuc cernitur.*

VV. 5, 6, QUO SOLE *deletum esse uidetur.*

de rep. lib.

aperte quod Manu quo Set si uis laeli quid ergo haec
sentio loquar etiam sapien dabo tibi tes quadringe-
non nimis ad tiorem socra tes nec nimis torum anno
sentior in om tem sole iudi antiquo nec rum aetas ut
ni isto genere care qui om ullo modo urbis et ciui
nostro illi fa nem eius mo barbaros in tatis num ual
miliari quiq· di curam de quid uolo ui de longa est
uix coniectu posuerit eaq· dene igitur ea uero in
ra qualia sint quae de natu minus qua quid adulta
posumusus ra quaerere- dringento uix ergo his
picari sic adfir tur aut maio rum anno annis qua
mat ut oculis ra quam ho rum esse hanc dringentis
ea cernere ui minum ratio urbem ut si romae rex e
deantur aut consequi pos ne regibus sit rat et super
tractare plane sit aut nihil o- uero minus bus quidem

V. 10, supra, litterae duae minus facile cernuntur.

V. 8, super N, S *plane cerni non potest.*
VV. 12, 13, in marg., uerba quae scriptura prope cursiua scripta sunt haud ita longo tempore posteriora quam prima manus esse uidentur.

V. 8, supra, A *parum facile cernitur.;* E *prioris deletionis signa non cernuntur.*

·de rep· lib· i

quid supra ius barbarorum um rerum etiam in mor
tissimus et de romulus rex tum secessio d bo leui se ut il
inceps retro fuit si ut grae nem plebi s tu- le qui nauigat
usque ad ro ci ic dunt om prorsus ita ac cum subito
mulum qui nis aut grae ta pleraq· ut mare coepit
ab hoc tempo i os esse aut in populo essent horrescere
re anno ses barbaros ue omnia est i- e et ille ager in
centissimo e reor ne bar quit ut dicis grauescente
rex erat ergo barorum est uero inquit morbo unius
ne iste quide- rex fuit sin id scipio in pace opem inplorat
peruetus mi nomen mo et otio licet e sic noster po
nime ac pro ribus dandu- nim lasciui pulus in pace
pe senescen est non lin re dum nihil i et dom im
te iam graeci guis non grae metuas ut in perat et ipsis
a cedo num scipio cos minus naui ac saepe magistratib·

V. 4, supra, de IC, *quamquam parum facile cernitur, dubitandi causa nulla est.*

V. 5, E *erasa est, fortasse et per lineolam prius deleta.*

V. 3, supra, S *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 7, de puncto super U *posito dubitari potest.*

V. 13, lineola per O *alteram perducta minus facile cernitur.*

minatur re rum ipsum no Syracusis ex Nomen audis
cusat appellat men uim su urbe locuple sem speciem
prouocat in ae potestatis indicat tissima atque ipsam non su-
bello sic paret indicator qui am t ornatissima tanto opere ad
ut regi ualet dem ab eo ap sustulisset cu- miratus erat
enim salus plus pellatur qui aliud nihil enim illa ue
quam libido a dicitur sed ex tanta prae nustior et no
grauioribus in nostris ui libris da domum su uilior in uol
uero bellis eti des eum laeli am deporta gus quam ab
am sine col magistrum uisset iussis eodem archi
lega omne i- populi appella se proferri cu mede factam
perium nos ri uideo in ius ego sfaere posuerat in te-
tri penes sin quid et scipio cum persae plo uirtutis
gulos esse uo sapienter igi pe propter arc marcellus idē
luerunt quo tur illi uete himedi gloria- sed posteaqua-

V. 4, de puncto super I *primam posito certius affirmare non ausim.*

Coepit ratio dae atq. plenae multitudo cu- tis itaque si
nem huius o uetus esse in omni consilio cyrus ille per
peris scientis uentum et communi ac ses iustissimus
sime gallus eam a (a e) thleta potestate ca fuit sapientis
exponere plus milesio pri reat et cum o- simusque rex
in illo siculo mum esse nia per populu- tamen mihi
ingenii quam (t) ornatam post geruntur qua- populi res ea
uideretur na autem ab eu uis iustum enim est ut di
tura huma doxo cnidio atque mode xi antea publi
na ferre potu discipulo ut ratum tame- ca non maxi
isse iudicam(bat) ferebat plato ipsa aequabi me expeten
fuisse dicebat nis eandem litas est iniqua da fuisse illa
enim gallus illam (r...) astellis cum habet uidetur cum
sferae illius ísq. caelo in nullos gra regeretur u
alterius soli hererent es dus dignita nus (i) nutu ac

(q. u)

V. 13, S *prima incerta est.*

lib. ii.

Modo si mas	ac decretis age	duodeuigi⁻	eosque ita dis
silienses nos	bant quonia⁻	ti censu ma	parauit ut suf
tri clientes per	distinctos	ximo dein	fragia non
delectos et pri⁻	dignitatis gra	de equitum	in multitu
cipes ciues su⁻	dus non habe	magno nu	dinis sed in
ma iustitia re	bant non te	mero ex om	locupletium
guntur inest	nebat orna	ni populi su⁻	potestate es
tamen in ea	tum suum ci	ma separa	sent
condicione	uitas atque hoc	to relicuum	curauitque
populis simili	loquor de tri	populum dis	quod semper
tudo quaedā	bus his gene	tribuit in	in rep· tene⁻
seruitutis si athenienses quib·da⁻			
temporibus	rib· rerum	quinque clas	dum est ne
sublato areo	publicarum	sis seniores	plurimum
pogo nihil ni	non turbatis	que a iunio	ualeant plu
si populi scitis	atque permix	ribus diuisit	i . . a rimumque

V. 8, E *altera erasa est; supra, punctum adesse uidetur.*
V. 10, S *prima fortasse ex parte erasa est.*

V. 15, punctum super U *positum minus facile cernitur.*

de rep·

discriptio si	tgnariis est	rectissime qui	pecies praecla
esset ignota	data viiii· ce⁻	dem iudicas	ra oppidi aut
uobis explica	turias tot ¢ habeat quib·	quae enim fuit	theatrum gy⁻
retur a me	e enim reliquae cent· quattor centuri	tum atheniē	nasia porticus
nunc ratio	¢ sunt octo	sium res qu⁻	aut propyla
nem uidetis	solae si acces	post magnu⁻	ea nobilia aut
esse talem ut	serunt co⁻	illud pelopo⁻	ara aut admi
equitum cer	fecta est uis	nesiacum bel	randa opera
tamine cum	¢ poli uniuer	lum triginta	phidiae aut pi
¢ suffragiis	sa relicua	uiri illi urbi	raeus ille mag
et prima clas	q· multo ma	iniustissime	nificus remp·
sis addita ce⁻	ior multitu	praefuerunt	efficiebat mi
turia q̄· ad su⁻	do sex et no	num aut ue	nime ro laelius
mum usum	naginta ce⁻	tus gloria ci	quoniam qui
urbis fabris	turiarum	uitatis aut is	dem populi

V. 8, ad fin., R *in* N *corr. esse uidetur.*

V. 9, supra, U *ante* RI *plane cernere non potui.*

V. 10, supra, E *minus facile cernitur.*

(Col. II.):

V. 2, supra, aliae litterae sub macula fortasse latent.

V. 3, supra, post QUIB·, EX *sub macula latere putes.*

V. 4, supra, init., E *prima inferior est.*

V. 5, lineolae minus facile cernuntur.

V. 9, supra, aliam litteram inter P *et* U *adfuisse non credendum est, quamquam lineola, hastae haud dissimilis, cernitur.*

V. 10, C *in* Q *corr. esse uidetur.*

V. 7, ad fin., de ⁻ *signo dubitari potest.*

V. 15, de puncto super l *ultimam posito dubitari potest.*

? ?
lib iiii

res non erat
quid qum de
cemuiri romae
sine pronoca
tione fuerunt
tertio illo an
no cum uin
dicias amisis
set ipsa liber
tas populi nul
la res erat im
mo uero id po
pulus egit ut
rem suam re
cuperaret

uenio nunc
ad tertium ge
nus illud in
quo esse uide
buntur forta
se angustiae
qum per popu
lum agi dicu-
tur et ease in
populi potes
tate omnia ō
nia qum de quo
cumq· uolt sup
plicium sumit
mültitudo qu|

gratiam qua-
commode
ordines des
cripti aeta
tes classes
equitatus i-
quo suffra
gia sunt eti
am senatus
nimis
am stulte
hanc

largitione-
quaerunt
aliquo plebi
scito redde-
dorum equo
rum consi
derate nunc
cetera quam
sint proui
sa
,m ciuiu-
ae ho
neste uiue-
d
ea est enim

V. 6, initio, an S *litterae super uersum scriptae uestigia cerni possint, dubito.*

V. 13, ad fin., SUP (SUP?) *haud facile cernitur.*

V. 11, utrum prima littera N *an* I *sit adfirmare non ausim.*

"*Huius quoque paginae ita interiit scriptura, ut uix uestigia reuocata sint*" (*DuR.*).

	prima causa	lybius noster	nudari ri puberem	e e tractationis
	coeundi et	hospes nos	ita sunt alte	et amores
	id hominib·	in trorum sti	repetita qua	soluti et libe
	effici ex rep·	tutorum	si fundame-	ri mitto aput
5	debet partim	neglegenti	ta quaedam	eleos et the 5
	institutis ali	am accusat	uerecundae	banos aput
	a legibus pri-	nullam cer	iuuentutis	quos in amo
	cipio discipli	tam aut des	uere exerci	re ingenuo
	nam pueri	tinatam le	tatio quam	rum libido
10	lem ingenu	gibus aut pu	absurda in	etiam permis 10
	is de qua r gae	blice exposi	gymnasiis	sam habet
	ci multum	tam aut una-	quam leuis	et solutam
	frustra labo	omnium	epheborum	licentiam
	rarunt et in	esse uolue	l illa mititia	lacaedemo
15	qua una po	runt nam	quam con	nii ipsi cum 15

V. 1, de E *super* A *priorem posita dubitari potest;* I *alterius deletionis signa cerni non possunt.*

de rep.

omnia con	lius praecla	deri praesta	rimus quare
cedunt in	re intellego	bilius quid enī	cogitabo romu
amore iuue	scipio te in is	optumo meli	lum aut pom
num prae	graecie dis	us cogitari po	pilium aut ullu-
ter stuprum	cip	test qum au	regem fortā
tenui sane ?		tem regis est	non tam illius
m		facta mentio	ꝑ reip· paenite
di saepiu		occurrit ani	bit quam igi
ꝑ i id quod ex		mis rex etiā	tur relinquis
cipiunt c		iniustus nos	populari reip·
ple		autem de inius	laudem tum
conced		to rege nihil lo	ille quid tibi tā
a lae ?		quimur nūc	dem spuri rho
legi		qum de ipsa	diorum apud
		regali rep· quae	quos nuper fui

VV. 6–15, ceteras litteras, ut in pergamento obfuscato, cernere non potui; sed Maii temporibus plura cerni potuisse haud incredibile est.

VV. 5–15, in eodem statu, quo col. I. VV. 6–15, vel potius peiore, sunt.

V. 7, lineola per E *primam perducta minus facile cernitur.*

mus una nl
lane uidetur
esse resp· mi
hi uero uide
tur et minime
quidem uitu
peranda rec
te dicis sed si
meminisli ō
nes erant idē
tum de plebe
tum senatores
uicissitudines
q. habebant
quib· mensib·

populari mu
nere fungerē
tur quib· sena
torio atrubiq·
autem conuē
ticium accipie
bant et in thea
tro et in curia
res capitalis
et reliquas o⁻
nis iudicaba⁻t
idem tantum
poterat tantiq·
erat quanti
multitudo

nomen opes
uacuae con
silio et uiue⁻
di atque aliis
imperandi
modo dede
coris plenae
sunt et inso
lentis super
biae nec ulla
demformior
species est ci
uitatis quam
illa in qua o
p < > ntissimi

optimi putā
tur uirtute
uero guber
nate remp· quid
potest esse prae
clarius cum
is qui inperat
talis seruit ip
se nulli cupi
ditati cum quas
ad res ciuis ins
tituit et uocat
eas omnis co⁻
plexus est in
[illegible]pidi[illegible]ati

xli·

V. 4, fortasse A *deleta atque* V *super litteram eandem scripta fuit.*

V. 15, quamquam I *ultima facile cerni non potest, tamen ita scriptum esse probabile est.*

V. 8, T *prior erasa esse uidetur.*
V. 15, PI *ex* D *corr. esse uidetur.*

ipse nec leges tire possent itemq. ab o⁻ creatos sa
inponit popu nemo delec ni iudicio tis ostende
lo quib· ipse no⁻ tus principes poenaq. pro rint reliquos
pareat set su quaereret dif uocari lice sine prouo
am uitam ut ficultas ineu re indicant catione mag istratus
legem praetert di consilii re⁻ xii· tabulae non fuisse
suis ciuibus a rege ad plu conplurib· l· q· ualeri po
qui si unus sa res error et legibus titi et m· hora
tis omnia co⁻ temeritas po et quod pro ti barbati ho
sequi posset pulorum a ditum me minum co⁻
nihil opus es multitudi moriaest x cordiae cau
set pluribus ne ad paucos uiros qui le sa sapienter
si uniuersi ui transtulit ges scribse populárium
deret optimu⁻ sic inter fir rint sine pro conlularis
et in eo conse mitatem uni uocatione lex anxit

V. 14, lineola per T *priorem perducta minus facile cernitur.*

V. 3, U *in* O *corr.*
V. 14, ad fin., FIR *minus facile cernitur.*

de rep. lib. i

ne qui mag· de prouoca lisq̄· uideant Si terra pri
sine prouo tione subla ceteri quid mum uniuer
catione crea ta perta sta porro aut prae sa deinde ea
retur tim securis clarum putet pars eius quā
neq· uero le de fascibus in reb· huma homines in
ges porciae demi iussit nis qui haec colant quam
quae tres sunt postridieq· deorum reg que nox (s. in) exi
trium porcio sibi collega⁻ na perspexe gu (a) eius par
rum ut scitis sp· lucretiu⁻ rit aut diutur te adf ixi plu
quicquam subrogauit num qui cog rimis ignotis
praeter sanc suosq· ad eu⁻ nouerit quid simi gentibus
tionem attu quod erat sit aeternu⁻ speremus ta
lerunt no maior na aut gloriosu⁻ men nostru⁻
ui itaq· publi tu lictores quid uiderit nomen uoli
cola lege illa transire ius quam parua tare et uagari

V. 1, ad fin., punctum exstare uidetur, ISTRATUS *cerni non potest; sed hic locus chemicis tactus non est.*

V. 9, post F, A⁻, K· *ut uidetur, erasum est.*

latissime a tus domina enim pietas de in laꝑtorib·
gros uero et tus saepe etia⁻ aut a quibus et periculis for͡
aedificia et teꝑrimo religio unde titudo nempe
pecudes et in rum homi ius aut genti ab his qui haec
mensum ar num inme⁻ um aut hoc ip disciplinis in
genti pondus saꝑi possessio sum ciuile formata alia
adque auri quam est hic quod dicitur moribus con
qui bona nec fortunatus͡ unde iustitia firmarunt sa⁻
putare nec ap putandus fides aequitas xerunt aute⁻
pellare soleat cui sol͡uere unde pudor alia legibus qui⁻
quod earum liceat omnia continentia etiam xeno
rerum uide non quiriti fuga turpidi craten ferunt
atur ei leuis um set sapie⁻ nis adpeten nobilem in
fructus exigu tium iure pro tia laudis et primis philoso
us usus incer suis uindica honestatis u⁻ pum cum que

V. 1, supra, B *sub Aug. scriptura latere uidetur.*
V. 15, init., FUM *DuR.*

reretur ex eo tione filosofi quem ad mo longe dco sapi
quid adsequer possunt etia- dum urbes mag entia ipsa esse
retur eius dis is qui illa dispu nas atque in anteponen
cipuli respon tant ipsis et si periosas ut ap dos et quonia-
disse ut id sua praeferendus pellat ennius maxime rapi
sponte facerent doctorib· culis et castel mur ac opes au
quod cogere- que et enim lis praeferen gendas gene
tur facere le istorum ratio das puto sic eos ris humani stu
gibus ergo ille tam exquisi qui his urbib· demusque nos
cuius quid co ta q· si antepo consilio atq· tris consilis et
git omnis im nenda bene auctoritate laborib· tutio
perio legumq· constitutae praesunt his rem et opule-
poena quod ciuitati publi qui omnis ne tiorem uitam
uix paucis per co iure et mo gotii publici hominum red
suadere ora rib· equidem expertes sint dere et ad hanc

V. 2, ad fin., R *per lineolam deleta, postea erasa est.*

V. 10, supra, I *alteram uidit DuRieu.*

V. 1, "cernitur vestigium litterae nescio cuius super utramque F" *(Du R.).*

V. 3, supra, ad fin., uestigia nescio quae aegre cernuntur.

I. 2. 3. *pag. 126.* *I. 17. 28.* *pag. 127.*

de rep lib· i

uoluptatem ipsius naturae stimulis inci tamur tenea mus eum cur sum qui sem per fuit optimi cuiusque ne quea signa au diamus q̄· re ceptui canunt ut eos etiam reuocent qui iam peroces serint his ra

tionibus tam certis tamq· inlustribus opponuntur ab his qui con tra disputant primum labo res qui sint rep· defendenda sustinendi le ue sane inpe dimentum uigilanti et industrio ne que tal solu-

uolutare cui persuasum sit appellari ceteros ho mines esse so lo deos qui es sent politi pro pris humani tatis artibus ut mihi plato nis illut seu quis dixit ali us perelegans esse uideatur quam cum

ex alto igno tas ad terras tempestas et in desertum litus detulis set timentib· ceteris prop ter ignoratio nem locoru- animaduer tisse dicunt in arena geo metricas for mas quasdam esse descriptas

V. 15, lineolae per l *perductae uestigia adesse uidentur.*

V. 6, de d *deleta atque* s *supra scripta dubitari potest.*

Quas ut uidis ro semper ritas maxi priuatis dili
set ut bono mihi et doctri me florebat gentissime
essent ani na et erudi quod cum singulos ci
mo uidere eni- ti homines honore lo- ues opera co-
se hominum et tuas ista ge escelerent silio re tue
uestigia que studia placu ceteris uolup bantur quo
uidelicet ille erunt tatibus erant in statu reip·
non ex agri tum laelius inferiores sp· cassium
consitura non audeo nec pecuniis de occupan
quam cerne quidem in ferme supe do regno
bat sed ex doc quid ad ista riores eoq· molientem
trinae indi scipio dicere erat cuius summa aput
ciis interprae neque tam q· gratior in populum gra
tabatur qua- te quam pilu- rep· uirtus tia florente-
ob rem tube aut manum quod in reb· quaestor

V. 2, supra, EXCLAMAUISSE, *quod Maius legit, haud plane cerni potest.*

V. 15, "manlum" (Du R.); ultimae litterae abnormes sunt.

V. 15, ad fin., B *et. pallidissima sunt.*

II. 35. 60. *pag. 130.* *I. 35. 55.* *pag. 131.*

de re p. lib· i

accusabit eu⁻ no post pri dem tamen t/aere siue re
que ut audis s/mo cos· de aequitate⁻ gi siue optima
i/ts cum pater t/multa e sa et fidem ecce tibus seruiant
in ea culpa cramento autem ma ita caritate
s/
esse conpe p· tarpeius et xima uoce nos capiunt
risse se dixis a· aternius clamat popu reges consilio
set cedente cos· comitiis lus neque se optimates li
populo mor centuriatis uni neque bertate popu
u/
te mactabit tulerunt a⁻ pacis uelle pa li et in conpa
e e/
gratamq· nis post res r/ar/are liber rando diffi
. ... /
etiam illa⁻ multis dice⁻ tate ne feris cile ad elige⁻
... t/
rem quar dis ea xx· ex quidem quic dum sit quid
to circiter eo quod l· pa quam esse maxime uelis
et quinqua pirius p· pina dulcius hac credo inquit
gesimo an rius censo omnes c/lare sed expediri

V. 10, de punctis super RE *positis dubitari potest.*

V. 1, supra, de T *dubitari potest.*

de rep.

que restant	oratio tantu⁻	f c la atio genus	ni ab regib· ab
uix poterunt	inquit ut rite	aliut tyran	em iis aut princi
sic hoc incoha	ab eo dicendi	norum eade⁻	pes aut populi
tum relique	cipia principiamus	q· oritur etia⁻	a quibus aut
e mu ris imitabor	quem unum	ex illa saepe op	factiones aut
a ergo ratum	omnium de	timatium	tyranni nec
qui magnis	orum et ho	praeclaro sta	u diutius inqua⁻
de rebus dice	minum re	tu cum ipsos	tenetur idem
re exordiens	gem esse om	principes ali	reip· modus
a ioue incipi	docti in nes doctique	qua prauitas	quod ita cum
endum putat	expolire con	de uia defle	sit tribus pri
quo ioue aut	sentiunt quid	xit sic tanqua⁻	mis generib·
quid habet il	inquid laelius et ille	a pilam repiunt	longe praes
lius carmi	quid censes	inter se reip·	tat mea sen
nis simile haec	nisi quod est	statum tyra⁻	tentia regiu⁻

V. 5, BO *litterarum deletionis signa plane cerni non possunt.*

V. 4, I *altera in* A *correcta est.*

regio autem partium ac caedemone ille appella
ipsi praesta tributum esse appellabit ni uit nomina
bit id quod erit quasdam res mis is quide- uerunt sena
aequatum seruatas iu paucos xxxuiii tum ut etia-
et temperatu- dicio uolun quos penes romulum
ex tribus op tatiquae mul summam co- patribus lec
timis rebru- titudinis silii uoluit es tis fecisse di
publicarum haec consti se cum impe ximus tame-
modis placet tutio primu- ris summa- excellit atq·
enim esse quid habet aequa rex teneret eminet duis
dam in rep· bilitatem quandam ex quo nostri potestas no
praestans et magnam idem illut se menq· regi
regale esse ali qua carere cuti atq· in um inpertit
ut auctorita diutius uix terpraetati etiam populo
te principum possunt libe quos senes potestatis

V. 4, fortasse lineola quoque per X *primam perducta est.*

V. 13, de puncto super T *ultimam posito atque lineola per eam perducta dubitari potest.*

aliquid ut et quod pleru⁻ bilo ecfossu⁻ neglecturu⁻
lycurgus et q· euenit ex esse praesen negaret q· de
romulus no⁻ sistat inius te mortuu⁻ capite ciuis
satiaris eum tus est igitur dceret cum romani ni
libertates sed fragilis ea for ipse potesta si comitiis
incendires tuna populi tem summa⁻ centuriatis
cupiditate li q. positast in haberet quod statui ueta
bertatis cum unius ut dixi decemuiru⁻ ret
tantum mo antea uolu⁻ sine prouo tertius est an
do potestate⁻ tate uel mo catione es n us x· uira
gustandi fe ribus set uades ta lis consecu
ceris ille qui Quare prima men poscit tus cum ide⁻
dem semper sit haec for quod se le esset nec a
inpendebit ma et species gem illam lios subroga
timor ne rex et origo ty praeclara⁻ re uoluissent

q· xviiii·

V. 2, N *ex* R *corr. esse uidetur.*

V. 3, super U *priorem punctum erasum esse uidetur. Puncta illa super* M *sine dubio fortuita sunt. Ad fin.,* UUU *in* U̇UU, *postea, eraso puncto et* U, *in* UU⁻, *corr. esse uidetur.*

V. 10, post N, *aut* I *aut* T *erasa esse uidetur.*

de rep. lib. i

in hoc statu oppositis n tr· re nec ciuili ris fugendi
reip· quem di pl·nullis aliis sexo sed com gratia subeu⁻
xi iam saepe adiunctis ma muni ge natu dos non prae
non possese gistratibus rae q̄· uetat ul miorum aut
diuturnum non prouao lam rem es gloriae causa
quod non catione ad se cuiusqua⁻ adpetendos
esset in om populum co⁻ nisi eius qui putet qui de
nis ordines tra necem tractare et nique ut afri
ciuitas aequa et uerbera ut sciat qui i⁻ canum auu⁻
bilis relicta ergo peria consu meum scri
erat penes pri⁻ horum ex latusq· nos bit cato soli
cipes tota rep· iniustitia tros in neces tum esse di
praepositis subito exor sariis non cere possit ide⁻
xx uiris nobi ta est maxi in expetendis de se praedi
lissimis no⁻ ma pertur rebus mune care numqua⁻

V. 12, ad fin., super E *fortasse adest* S; *ultima littera* I *formam habet; fortasse in* P *mutata est.*

V. 1, N *litterae deletionis signa plane cerni non possunt.*

V. 5, A *litterae deletionis signa non adparent.*

V. 2, S *litterae deletionis signa plane cerni non possunt.*

de· rep. lib· i·

Se plus ager e do eripue gis solos esse eorum inue⁻
quam nihil rit ciuibus qui in foro tis scribtisq·
cum ageret suis liberta turbaque l se obectent
[illegible] tem quam e quicum co⁻ quis uero di
se plus agere ius ciuem ar loqui libeat uitiorem que⁻
numquam chimedem non habeant quam putet
minus solu⁻ cum istam quam qui nul quam eum
esse quam cu⁻ ipsam sfae lo arbitrio cui nihil de
solus esset quis ram nihil cu⁻ uel secum ip sit quod qui
enim putare agere uide si loquantur dem natura
uere potest retur de qua uel quasi doc desideret
plus egisse modo dice tissimorum aut potentio
dionysium batur effe hominum m. rem qua[illegible]⁻
tum cum om cerit quis au in concilio qui illum omnia
nia molien tem non ma atsint cum quae expec

V. 8, littera antepaenultima F *esse uidetur.*

V. 8, "Arbitr: o, vestigium litt. I *erasae" (DuR.).*

V. 13, deletionis signa minus facile cernuntur.

tat consequa tur aut beatio rem quam qui sit omni perturbatio ne animi libe ratus aut fir miore fortu na quam qui ea possideat quae secum ut aiunt uel e naufragio possit eeferre quod autem

imperium qui magistra tus quod reg num potest esse praesta- tius quam de spicientem omnia huma na et inferio ra sapientia ducentem nihil umqua- nisi sempiter num et diui num animo

disse ad id quod quaesierat laelius primu- enim nume ro definiera- genera ciui tatum tria probabilia perniciosa autem trib. illis totidem contraria nullumq. ex eis unum es se optimum

sed id praes tare singulis quod e tribus illis totidem contraria nullumque ex eis unum esse optimu- sed id praes tare singu lis quod e tri i. bus primus esset modi ce tempera tum quod

In hac pagina, deletionis signa alia adesse mihi persuadere non potui; quamquam uestigia quaedam exstare punctorum negare non ausim.

II. 39. 66. *pag. 144.* *II. 23. 43.* *pag. 145.*

lib. ii.

autem exe⁻ ratio oratio ius ut fuit causam·
plo nostrae q· describe aput nostros quod unius
ciuitatis usus ret sin aute⁻ reges tame⁻ uitio praeci
sum non ad sine ullius illut excellit pitata in per
definiendu⁻ populi exem· regium no niciosissima⁻
optimum sta plo genus ip men neq· po partem facil
tum ualuit sum exqui test eius mo lime decidit
nam id fieri ris optimi sta di resp· non Nam ipsum
potuit sine tus naturae regnum et regale genus
exemplo sed imagine ute⁻ esse et uoca ciuitatis na⁻
ut ciuitate dum est no ri ea autem modo non
maxima re bis quonia⁻ forma ciui est reprehe⁻
abse cerne tu hanc ima tatis muta dendum
retur qua ginem urbis bilis maxime Sed haut scio
le
esset id quod et populi ni est hanc ob an reliquis
q. xxiii

V. 15, fortasse Q. *hasta erasa, in* C *correcta est.*

	Simplicibus	sapientia	nen magis in	rum etsi mi	
	longe ante	regatur sa	nostra quam	nime facile	
	ponendum	lus et aequa	in omni rep.	eas in ea rep. fu	
	si ullum pro	bilitats et o	noscere et sci	turas puto sed	
5	barem sim	tium ciuiu-	pio est omni	huius regiae	5
	plex reip. ge	desunt om	no cum de illo	prima et cer	
	nus sed ita	nino ei po	genere reip.	tissima est illa	
	~~ꝙ~~ad statu-	pulo multa	quod maxi	mutatio cum	
	suum retine	sub rege est	~~m~~e probo q̄.	rex iniustus	
10	t iss et autem	in primisq.	sentio dixe	esse coeperit	10
	status ut u	libertas que	ro accuratius	perit illut ili	
	nius perpe	non in eo est	tibi dicendu-	co genus et	
	tua potesta	ut iusto uta	de commuta	est idem ille	
	te et iustitia	mur domi	tionibus rer	tyrannus	
15	omneque	no set ut nul	rum publica	deterrimum	15

V. 14, R *altera erasa esse uidetur.*

genus et fini lentium prin iusto quide⁻ dii genuerunt
timum opti cipum sin per rege cum est o pater o geni
mum quem se populus in populus orba tor o sangue⁻
si optimates terfecit aut tus pectora dis oriundu⁻
oppresserunt eiecit tyran diu tenet desi non eros nec
quam ferme num est mo derium sicut dominos ap
euenit habet deratior quo ait o ennius pellabant eos
statum resp· ad sentit et post optimi re quib· iuste pa
de trib· secun sapit et sua re gis obitum si ruerunt de
darium est gesta laetatur mul iter sese niq· ne reges
enim quasi tueriq· uult per se sic memorant quidem set pa
regum id est constituta⁻ o romule triae custo
patrium con remp· si quan romule die des set patres
silium populo do aut regi ius qualem te pa et deos nec si
bene consu to uim populus triae custode⁻ ne causa· quid

V. 3, U *prior in* O *corr. est.*

V. 12, punctum super O *priorem Ciceronianae scripturae probabiliter adtribuendum est.*

lib· ··

enim adiun | mansisset ea | quit ille notis | efficiant ne
gunt tu pro | dem uolum | sima ergo illa | quid inter pri
duxisti nos | tas in eorum | secuntur eos | patum et ma
intra lumi | poteris si regu- | qui pareant | gistratum dif
nis oras uita- | similitudo | principib· agi | ferant ferunt
honorem de | permansisset | tari ab eo po | laudib· et mac
cus sibi datu- | sed uides uni | pulo ut seruos | tant honori
esse iustitia | us inius inius | uoluntarios | b· ut necesse
regis existi | titia concidis | appellari eos | sit in eius mo
mant man | se genus illut | autem qui in | di reip· plena
sisset eadem | totum reip· ui | magistratu | libertatis es
uolumtas in | deo uero in | priuatorum | se omnia ut
eorum pote | quit et studeo | similes esse | et priuata do
ris si regum si | cursus istos | uelint eosq· | mus omnis
militudo per | mutationu- | priuatos qui | uacet domina

V. 12, punctum super M *positum minus facile cernitur.*

V. 1, puncta super EA *posita minus facile cernuntur.*

V. 3, punctum super B *positum minus facile cernitur.*

V. 10, punctum super I *alteram positum minus facile cernitur.*

tione et hoc
malum usq·
ad bestias per
ueniat deni
que ut pater
filium metu
at filius patre⁻
neclegat absit
omnis pudor
ut plane libe
ri sint nihil i⁻
tersit ciuis sit
an peregrinus
magister ut
discipulos me

tuat et iis blan
diatur spernant
q· discipuli ma
gistros adules
centes ut senu⁻
sibi pondus ad
sumant senes
autem ad lu
dum adules
centium des
cendant ne
sint iis odiosi
et graues ex
quo fit ut etia⁻
serui se liberius

barbaros quas
romano pu
to et scipio
adqui ad hoc
de quo agitur
non quaeri
mus gentem
ingenia quae
rimus gente⁻
ingenia quae
rimus si eni⁻
et prudentes
homines et
non ueteres
reges habere

uoluerunt
utor neque
perantiquis
neque inhu
manis ac feris
testib· tum lae
lius uideo te
scipio testimo
niis satis ins
tructum set
aput me ut aput
bonum iudi
cem argume⁻
ta plus quam
testes ualent

V. 8, fortasse tertia littera G *est.*

tum scipio ute iracundiae si habemus xeris·
re igitur ar dominatum etsi ne nunc
gumento lae animi tui no- quidem tunc
li tutè ipse se- mehercule uero quis te
sus tui cuius inquit sed i possit esse flo
inquit ille sen mitor archy rentior aut
sus si quando tam illum de consiliis
si forte tibi ui tarentinu- in posterum
sus es irasci qui cum ad prouidendis
alicui ego uillam ue cum tu duob·
uero saepius nisset et om huius urbis
quam uelle- nia aliter of terrorib· de
quid tum cu- fendisse ac pulsis in om
tu es iratus iusserat a te ne tempus
permittis illi tinfelicem i- esse prospe

V. 14, TE *litterarum deletionis signa non adparent.*
V. 15, T *fortasse erasa est.*

"Non in lucem revocata est subscriptio, quae si fuerit adscripta, rubro quodam suco exarata erat, quem aqua abstulit" (*DuR.*).

DE RE · PVBLICA

INC · LIB · II

E I I E

DuR. — "*Tituli alternis rubris nigrisque litteris exarati hae tantum renatae sunt.*" "E I I E, *id est: feliciter, ut rectissime Maius supplevit.*" *Probabile est etiam* M· TVLLI CICERONIS *ad initium supplendum esse.*

ut in agrum	sensit ac uidit
...?..... rutulorum	non esse oppor
???? ? aboriginum	tunissimos
? q. procederet	situs maritimos
aut in ostio	urbibus eis q̄
tiberino que⁻	ad spem diutur
in locum mul	nitatis conde
tis post annis	rentur adq· i⁻
rex ancus co	perii primum
loniam dedu	quod essent
xit urbem ip	urbes mariti
se conderet	mae non so
sed hoc uir ex	lum multis
cellenti pro	periculis oppo
uidentiam	sitae sed etia⁻

V. 15, M *litterae deletionis signa cerni non possunt.*

V. 5, fortasse QUAE *in* Q̄ *corr. est.*

caecitatis na- uolare terra cedis idem gubernatori
terra conti quin eum no- in rep· singu uni medico
nens aduen modo esse set lorum domi si digni modo
tus hostium etiam quis et natus si mo siinit iis arti
non modo ex unde sit scire do iusti sint es bus rectius es
pectator sed possimus ma se optimos ad se alteri na
etiam repen retimis uero ducor igitur uem commit
tinos multi- ille et naualis et prope mo tere aegrum
indicis et qua hostis ante ad dum adsen alteri quam
si fragore quo esse potest qua- tior multis ad ma
dam et sonitu quisquam ue- et scipio tum iora peruene
ipso ante denun turum esse magis· adsen ro quenam
tiat neque ue suspicariq. at tiar laeli si ut ista sunt quid
ro quisquam nec uero cum omittam simi tu non uides
potest hostis ad uenit prae se litudinis uni unius inpor

V. 6. "*ex* U *facta est* O" (*DuR.*).
V. 8, lineola per U *alteram perducta minus facile cernitur.*
V. 13, punctum post Q *positum minus facile cernitur.*

tunitate et su to mira qui gerant uxo ita fastidiosae
perbia tarqui dam exultas res eodem iu mollesq· me-
nii nomen se populum i- re sint quo ui tes euadant ci
huic populo solentia liber ri in tanta li uium ut si mi
in odium ue tatis tum ex bertate canes nima uis ad
nisse regiu- acti in exiliu- etiam et equi hibeatur im
uideo uero innocentes asilli deniq· li peri irascan
inquid ero tum bona di beri sint sic in tur et perferre
etiam illut repta multo currunt ut is nequeant ex
uides de quo rum tum an de uia decede- quo leges quo
progredien nui consules dum sit ergo que incipiunt
te oratione tum demissi ex hac infini neclegerent
plura
vita me dictu populo fasces ta inquit lice- plane sine ullo
rum puto tar tum prouoca tia haec sum domino sint
quinio exac tiones omni ma cogitur tum laelius

V. 12, de puncto super NT *posito dubitari potest; per lineolam ligatura deleta est.*

prorsus inquid
expressa sunt
a te quae dic
ta sunt ab illo
utq· ut iam ad
sermonis mei
morem reuer
tar ex hac ni
mia licentia
quam illi so
lam liberta
tem putant
ait ille ut ex
stirpe quada-
existere et

quasi nasci
tyrannum
nam ut ex ni
mia potentia
principum o
ritur interi
tus principu-
sic hunc nisis
liberum po
pulum liber
tas ipsa serui
tute adficit
sic omnia ni
mia cum uel
in tempesta

ri deinde fir
mitudinem
quod et illa
prima facile
in contraria
uitia conuer
tuntur ut ex
sistat ex rege
dominus ex
optimatibus
factio ex popu
lo turba et co-
fusio quod
quodque ip
sa genera ge

neribus sae
pe conmuta
tantur no
bis hoc in hanc
iuncta mo
derate per
mixta con
mutatione
reip· non fer
me sine mag
nis principu-
uitis euenit
nos enim cau
sa conuersio
nis ubi in suo

V. 13, "*Fortasse 1. eraserat* X *quae postea invito scriptore in lucem rediit*" (*DuR.*).

V. 13, de punctis super QUOD *positis dubitari potest.*

V. 3, M *litterae deletionis uestigia minus facile cernuntur.*

V. 4, fortasse N *altera erasa est.*

quisque est praecipien ante oculos que et rex et
gradu firmi tis cuius et do siue haec ad u pater habere
ter colloca centis et no⁻ tilitatem uitae tur omnium
tus et non uobiscum co⁻ constituta sint magna auc
subest quo siderantis es principibus re toritas est mul
praecipitet ac se uideatur rum publica tique testes si
ac decidat sed oratio mea rum ut rex quidem om
uereor laeli quam ob re⁻ putaretur u nis multos ap
uosque ho ingrediar i⁻ nus esse in cae pellari placet
mines ami ea q̄· nota sunt lo qui nutu ita consensis
cissimi ac prud omnibus quae ut ait totum se gentes de
dentissimi sita autem olymp[illegible]um cretis uideli
ne si diutius a nobis iam homerus [illegible] cet principu⁻
in hoc genere diu sic enim [illegible] con nihil esse rege
uerser quasi decerno sic uerteret ide⁻ melius quo

·· q· xiii··

V. 6, ad fin., AC *erasum esse uidetur.*
V. 11, ad fin., D *erasa esse uidetur.*

niam deos o⁻ quam oculis fert aut quis tela ac demu
nis censent illa uiderunt sit aut unde tatio moru⁻
unius regi quae nox uix ueniat aut admiscentur
numine siue audiendo etiam quid enim nouis
haec in erro cognoscimus uelit denique sermonibus
re inperitoru⁻ quinam in ne ne nota ac disciplinis
posita esse et quit laelius quidem ulla et inportan
fabularum si isti sunt et il pacatus an hos tur non mer
milia didici le qui natura tis sit discer ces solum ad
mus audia omnium re ni ac iudica uenticiae
mus commu rum perues ri potest au sed etiam mo
nis quasi doc tigando se⁻ tem mariti res ut nihil
tores erudi serunt om mis urbibus possint in pa
torum homi nes hunc mu⁻ etiam quae tris institutis
num qui tam dum [illegible] dam corrup manere in

V. 12, de lineola per O *perducta dubitari potest.*

V. 1, ad fin., S *erasa est.*

tegrum iam rant et uagan esse inmuta rerum poti
qui incolunt tur nec uero bilius nihil fir rentur num
eas urbes no- ullae res ma mius facilli quam consti
haerent in gis labefacta mam autem tisse ciuitatis
suis sedibus tam diu et car in ea rep· esse statum mul
sed uolucri taginem et concordiam to iam id in
semper spe et corinthum in qua idem regnis minus
cogitatione peruerterunt conducat om quorum ut ait
rapiuntur aliquando nibus ex utili ennius nulla
a domo lon quam mihic tatis uarieta regni sancta
gius adque error ac dis tibus cum alis societas nec
etiam cum sipatio ciui aliut expedi fides est qua
manent cor um quod mer at nasci discor re cum lex sit
pore animo candi cupidi dias itaque ciuilis sit soci
tamen excur tate et naui cum patres etatis uincu

V. 5, de puncto super A *posito dubitari potest.*
V. 15, supra, de punctis utrisque dubitari potest.

V. 10, lineola per I *priorem perducta minus facile cernitur.*

V. 14, punctum super T *positum minus facile cernitur.*

lum ius aute⁻ debent esse enim serpit· tam tulit qui
legis aequale eorum inter sed uolat in cum latinos
quo iure so se qui sunt ci optimum sta bello deꝯ(ci)uis
cietas ciuiu⁻ ues in eadem tum institu set adsciuit
5 teneri potest rep· quid est to tuo sermo eos in ciuita 5
cum par no⁻ enim ciuitas ne reꝑp· post tem adque ide⁻
sit condicio nisi iuris so tum numae auentinum
ciuium si eni⁻ cietas ciuiu⁻ pompili nepos et caelium
pecunias ae teneri potest ex filia rex montem ad
10 quari non cum par non a populo est iunxit urbi 10
placet si inge sit condicio ancus mar quosque agros
nia omniu⁻ ciuium si eni⁻ cius constitu ceperat diuisit
paria esse no⁻ pecunias ae tus itemque et siluas ma
possunt iura quari non de imperio suo ritimas om
15 certe paria placet si inge legem curia nis publicauit 15

V. 3, lineola per C *perducta minus facile cernitur.*

quas ceperat
et ad ostium
tiberis urbe⁻
condidit co
lonisq· firma
uit atq· ita cu⁻
tres e uiginti
regnauisset
annos sed
mortus et lae
lius laudan
dus etiam is
te rex sed obs
cura est histo
ria romana

si quidem is
tius regis ma
trem habemus
ignoramus
patrem ita est
inquit sed te⁻
porum illo
rum tantum
ferre regum
inlustrata
sunt nomi
na sed hoc lo
co primum
uidetur insi
tiua quadam

disciplina
doctior fac
ta esse ciuitas
influxit eni⁻
non tenuis
quidam
e grecia riuu
lus in hanc
urbem sed
abundan
tissimus ani
nis illarum
disciplinaru⁻
et artium fu
isse enim que⁻

dam ferunt
demaratum
corinthium
et honore et
auctoritate
et fortunis
facile ciuita
tis suae prin
cipem qui cu⁻
chorinthio
rum tyran
num cypse
lum ferre no⁻
potuisset fu
isse cum mag

V. 9, de puncto super R *primam posito dubitari potest.*

V. 1, T *litterae superior hasta pallidior (et fortasse recentior) esse uidetur.*

na pecunia
dicitur ac se
contulisse
tarquinios
in urbem et
ruriae flore-
tissimam cu-
q· audiret do
minatione-
cypseli con
firmatam fu
gît patriam
uir liber ac
foris et adsci
tus est ciuis

a tarquinie-
sibus atq· in ea
ciuitate domi
cilium et se
des colloca
uit ubi cum
de f matre fa
milias tarqui
niensi duo
filios procre
auisset omni
bus eos arti
bus ad grae
corum disci
plinam eru

pulo aliquis
unus plures
ue diuitiores
opulentiores
q· extitisset tu-
ex eorum fas
tidio et super
bia nata esse
commemo
rant cedenti
bus ignauis
et imbecillis
et adrogan
tiae diuitum
succumben

tibus si uero
ius suum popu
li teneant ne
gant quicqua-
esse praestan
tius liberius
beatius quip
pe qui dominis
int egum iu
diciorum uel
li pacis foede
rum capitis
unius cuius
que pecuniae
hanc unam

V. 12, de puncto super U *posito dubitari potest.* *V. 8, ad fin., "vestigia erasae s" (DuR.).*

id est rite re-
p. rem populi
appellari pu
tant itaque
et a regum et
a patrum do
minatione
olere in liber
tatem rem po
puli uindica
ri non ex libe
ris populis re
ges requiri
aut potestta
tem atq. opes

Optimatiu-
et uero ne
gant oporte
re indomiti
populi uitio
genus hoc to
tum liberi po
puli repudia
ri concordi
populo et om
nia referen
ti ad incolu
mitatem et
ad libertate-
suam nihil

sentio sic af
firmo nulli
ius omnium
rerum publi
carum aut
constitutio
ne aut discrip
tionem aut
disciplinam
conferenda-
esse cum ea
quam patres
nostri nobis
acceptam ia-
inde a maio

ribus relique
runt quam
si placet quo
niam ea quae
tenebatis ipsi
etiam ex me
audire uolu
istis simul et
qualis sit et op
timam esse
ostendam
exposita quae
ad exemplu-
nostrae reip.
accommo

V. 7, ad fin., " *vestigia erasae s* " (*DuR.*).
V. 14, T *ultima fortasse ex parte erasa est.*

V. 1, ad fin., F *erasa esse uidetur, id quod de* D *supra posita aegre crediderim.*

V. 12, ad fin., A *erasa est.*

·de rep· lib.

dabo ad eam mea fert effe se fortuito fa te in optimo
si potuero o- ¢¢cero ciet tam cito rum consili
nem illam o tum laelius tuu- euertetur qua- is posita est ci
rationem uero inquit nauis si e uec uitatium sa
quae est mihi scipio ac tuu- toribus sorte lus praeserti-
habendi quidem mu ductus ad gu cum hoc natu
de optimo ci nus quis eni- bernacula ra tulerit no-
uitatis statu te potius aut de accesserit quod solum ut uir
quod si tenere maiorem di si liber populus tute et animo
et consequi po xerit institu deliget quib· praeessent in
tuero cumu tis clarissimis se committat becillioribus
latae minus ipse maiori deligeq· si mo set ut hi etia-
hoc cui me lae bus aut de op do saluus esse parere sum
lius praeposu timo statu uult optimu- mis uelint ue
it ut opinio ciuitatis que- quemque cer rum hunc op

V. 12, ad fin., - *minus facile cernitur.*

timum statu⁻ li natos esse Uelle set pau p· conferre pos
prauis homi optimos pu cis nam om sumus iste
num opinio tant hoc erro nino haud quidem artes
nibus euersu⁻ re uulgi cum placere quod si modo ali
esse dicunt remp· opes pau si studia grae quid ualent
qui ignoratio corum non corum uos ut paulum
ne uirtutes uirtutes tene tanto opere iacuant
quae cum in re oeperunt delectant et tamquam
paucis est tum nomen illi sunt alia li inritent in
in paucis iudi principes op beriora et genia puero
catur et cer tim mordicus transfusa rum quo fa
nitor apule⁻ tenent re au latius que cilius possint
tos homines tem carent uel ad usum maiora dis
et copiosos etū eo nomine uitae uel etia⁻ cere
genere nobi nam diuitiae ad ipsam rem tum tubero

V. 12, lineola per O *perducta minus facile cernitur.*
V. 14, lineola per E *alteram perducta minus facile cernitur.*

non dissentio Magis (putem) que batio et totius nissima lege
a te laeli set renda quid commuta sanxerunt
quaero quae enim mihi tio reip· qui (uae) q· postea ple
tu esse maio l· pauli nepos duab· tabu b(a)iscito ca
ra (i) intelligas hoc auuncu lis iniquaru⁻ nuleio (a) bro
dicam (me) hercu lo nobilissi legum addi gatast libidi
le et contem ma in famili tis quibus eti nose (q·) omni
nar a te fortas a atq· in hac am quae di imperio et
se cum tu ista tam clara rep· iunctis po acerb(a)e et
caelestia de s natus (a) querit pulis tribu auare popu
cipione que cur in una (quae rit) i solent conu lo praefue
sieris ego au rep· duo sena bia haec illi runt nota
tem haec quae tus et duo pae ut ne plebi (e cum) scilicet illa
uidentur a⁻ ne iam popu patribus es res et celebra.
te oculos esse ··lis nam ut ui (int) set inhuma (n) ta monume⁻

V. 11, super QUE, A *littera cerni non potest.*

V. 1, super QUE, A *littera cerni non potest.*

V. 15, supra, T *magna ex parte sub Aug. scriptura latet.*

tis plurimis erat in algi Sit institu Equidem i-go
litterarum do confugis itq• primus tellego uir
cum decimus set milites ut singulis fuit qui mo
quidam uer bellum illut consulibus dica liberta
ginius uir quod erat alternis me- te populo da
ginem filia- in manibus sibus licto ta facilius te
propter uni reliquisse res praeirent nuit aucto
us ex illis x• et primum ne plura in ritatem prin
uiris intem montem sa signia essent cipum neq•
periem in fo crum sicut inperi in li ego haec nunc
ro sua manu erat in simi bero populo sine causa
interemis li causa an quam in reg tam uetera
set ac mae tea factum no fuissent uobis et tam
rens ad exer deinde aue- haud medio obsoleta de
citum qui tu- tinum ar cris hoc ut canto

V. 8, mihi non persuasum est, punctum ante X *exstitisse.*

V. 1, ad fin., — minus facile cernitur.

sed inlustri ut in populo sas requisi consequi po
bus in perso libero pau uit ciuitate- tuero ratio
nis tempo ca per popu que optanda- nibus eisde-
rib·q· exem lum pleraq· magis qua- quas ille uidit
pla hominu- senatus auc spernenda- non in umbra
rerumque toritate et ins quam mini imagine ci
definio ad quae tituto ac mo mam posuit uitatis sed in
reliquam o re gereren non quae amplissima-
ratio deri tur atq· uti possit essed a r· p· enipar
gatur mea consules in qua ratio ut cuiusq· et
tenuit igitur potestatem rerum ciui boni publici
hoc in statu haberent lium perspi et mali cau
senatus[illegible] tempore du- ci posset effe sam tamqua-
[illegible] remp· te- taxat anni cit ego aute- uirgula ui
poribus illis annuam si quo modo dear attingere

V. 9, supra, E *prior minus facile cernitur.*

hiis enim re | it quantu⁻ | ranni inue⁻ | tarquinius
giis quadra | tenuerat | ta nobis in | non nouam
ginta annis | post obitum | ea rep· quam | potestatem
et ducentis | uel potius ex | auspcatu ro | nactus sed
paulo cum | cessum ro | mulus con | quam habe
interregnis | muli deside | diderit no⁻ | bat usus inius
fere amplius | rium itaq· | in illa quam | te totum ge
prateritis | ut tum ca[illegible] | ut praescrip | nus hoc regi
ex populoq· | rè reges sic | sit plato siue | ae ciuitatis
tarquinio | pulso tarqui | ipse socrates | euerteret sit
tantum odi | nio nome⁻ | peripeateto | hoc regiae ci
um populu⁻ | regis audi | illo in sermo | uitatis euer
romanum | re non pote | ne depinxe | terit sit huic
regalis no | rat hic facul | rit ut quem | oppositus al
minis tenu | tatem cum | ad modum | ter bonus et

q· xx·

V. 9, fortasse per O *primam lineola perducta est.*

V. 8, E *litterae deletionis signa minus facile cernuntur.*
V. 9, S *prima erasa esse uidetur.*

V. 4, de U *littera altera minus liquet; sed quae primo* U *fuit postea in* O *corr. esse uidetur.*

V. 11, Aug. scriptura impedit quo minus puncta singulis litteris adposita cernantur.

de· rep· lib ii·

Sapiens et qui consilio ...gia sularem cons to nostrum
peritus utili et opera ciui tituti a senatum cu-
tatis digni tatem tueri fuerat fortas sunt propter
tatisq· ciuilis potest p quod se aliqua ra unius libidi
quasi tutor quoniam tio maiorib· nem omnia
et procura nomen mi nostris in nexa ciuiu-
tor reip· sic nus est ad illo aere alie liberata nec
enim appel huc tritum no meden tierq· ꝯ post
letur quicu- sermonem uae di q· neq· on sole- ea desitum
q· erit rector nostro saepi athenien Semperque
et guberna usque genus sem non lo- huic generi
tor ciuitatis eiuś homi gis tempori cum plebes
e
quam uiru- nis erit in re bus ante fu publicaꝫ ca
u
facit et agnos liqua nobis gerant lamitate in
catis est eni- oratione trac neq· post aliqua- pendiis de

V. 9, punctum super M *alteram positum plane cernere non potui.*
V. 14, tertia littera Q *fuisse uidetur, quae postea in* C, *erasa hasta, correcta est.*

V. 1, de punctis super AR *positis dubitari potest. Super uersum, post* GIA, *litterae erasae, ut uidetur, uestigia exstare puto.*

V. 13, lineola per S *perducta minus facile cernitur.*

bilitata defi tentia sena res nostros hil ex te afri
ceret salu tus atque auc et probabis canae his ma
tis omniu- toritas mi se maxime iores natu re
causa aliqua nueretur et retinuis quirunt ex
subleuatio q· tamen gra se sapientis me audies quid
et medicina uis et mag sime iudico in oratione
q· sitast na remane Cum ea spicio tua desidere-
quo tum co- bat sapien dixisset sile- sane inquit
silio praeter tissimis et tioque om scipio et libe-
misso causa fortissimis nium reli ter quidem
populo natast et armis et qua eius ex tum ille lau
duob. tribu consilio ci pectaretur dabisse mihi
nis plebis per uitatem tu oratio tum uideris nos
seditionem entibus quo tubero tram re [ ] cu-
creatis ut po rum aucto quoniam ni ex te non de

V. 5, punctum post Q *positum minus facile cernitur.*

V. 2, B *alt. deletionis signa minus facile cernuntur.*
V. 7, de puncto utroque dubitari potest.

V. 14, lacuna angustior esse uidetur, quam ut in ea MP. *exstitisse putes.*

nostra sed o- (de) | hic africanus | rem uelis tol | quale sit illut
ni rep. quae | puto nobis | lere ut eius | de quo dispu
sisset laelius | mox de ins | rei de quaeri (qua e.) | tabitur intel
nec tamen | tituendis co- (et) | tur si nome- | legi poterit
didici ex ora | seruandis | quod sit con | nisi quod sit
tione tua is | ciuitatibus | ueniat expli | fuerit intel
tam ipsam re- | aptiorem | cetur quid | lectum prius
p. quam lau | tubero fore | declaretur | qua re quoni
das qua disci | disserunt (e.) | eo nomine | am de rep. quae
plina quibus | di locum de | quod si con | rimus hoc
moribus aut | optimo au | uenerit (tum demum) de | primum uide
legibus cons | tem statu e | cebit ingre | amus quid
tituere uel | quidem ar | di in sermo | sit id ipsum
conserua | bitrabar me | nem unum | quod quae
re possimus | satis respon | quam enim | rimus

V. 2, neque punctum neque lineola facile cerni potest, sed lineola exstare uidetur.

V. 3, punctum super I *alteram positum minus facile cernitur.*
V. 11, lineola utraque minus facile cernitur.

cum adpro gressione africanum ϕϕrum adue-
bauisse⁄t lae maris et femi ut deum co tus periucun
lius nec uero nae deinde leret laelius dus et pergra
inquit afri a progeniae domi uicissi- tus fuisset pla
canus ita dis et cognatio laelium quod citum est ut
seram de re ne ordiar uer aetate ante in aprico ma
tam inlustri bisque quid cedebat obser xime pratuli
tamque no sit et commo uaret in pare- loco quod erat
ta uti ad illa e dis quidq· di tis loco scipio hibernum te-
lementa re catur defini dein cum es pus anni con
uoluar quib· am saepius n set perpauca siderent quod
uti docti ho aput pruden inter se uno cum facere
mines his in tes enim ho an altero spa uellent inter
rebus solent in mines et ma tio conlocu uenit uir pru
ut a prima co- xima rep· su- o ti scipionique dens omnib·
q. uiii

V. 15, E *litterae deletionis signa cerni non possunt.*

V. 1, E *prima ex* U *facta esse uidetur.*

V. 3, inter E *et* R, : *uallidius apparet, ut a correctore scriptum.*

V. 11, per N *ita lineola perducta est ut* N *efficeretur.*

de rep.

	que illis et iu	querendus	tatib· in quib·	quendam ui
	cundus et ca	set agendu⁻	expetunt lau	tuperationis
	rus m· mani	accuratius	dem optumi	non iniustae
	lius qui a scipio	et dicendu⁻	et decus igno	timorem ha⁻c
5	ne ceterisq·	dignum ali	miniam fugi	ille rector re 5
	amicissime	quid horum	unt ac dedecus	rum publica
	consalutatus	auribus hic	nec uero tam	rum auxit opi
	adsedit pro	laelius quid	metu poena	nionib· perfe
	ximus laelio	tandem age	q. terrentur	citque institutis
10	tum philus no⁻	batis aut cui	quae est cos	et discipilinis 10
	mihi uidetur	sermoni nos	tituta legibus	ut pudor ciuis
	inquit quod	interueni	quam uere	non minus
	hi uenerunt	mus quaesi	cundia qua⁻	adflictis arce
	alius nobis	erat ex me	natura homi	ret quam me
15	sermo esse	scipio ex me	ni dedit quasi	tus atque haec 15

V. 10, "*philus, vestigium lineolae del.* H" (*DuR.*).

V. 15, "*vestigia lineolarum del. alt. ex me*" (*DuR.*).

V. 15, ad fin., S *ante* I *posita minus facile cernitur.*

V. 13, F *litterae deletionis uestigia cernere non potui; super* F *uestigia aliqua uidi a forma* E *litterae non abhorrentia.*

V. 4. 6. *pag. 200.* *III. 3. 5.* *pag. 201.*

quidem ad ut omnes et anteferre om C· laelio quid
laudem perti communib· nib· debeat l· pilo· perfecti
nent quae di commodis quid enim po us cogitari po
ci latius uberi et suis uteren test esse test qui ne quid
usq· potuerunt tur nec bene praeclarius praetermitte
ad uitam aute- uiui sine bona quam qum re rent quod ad
usumq· uiuē rep· posset nec rum magna summam lau
di ea descrip ss eſſe quicquā rum tracta dem clarorū
ta ratiost ius ciuitate bene tio atque usus uirorum per
tis nuptiis legi constituta cum illaru- tineret ad do
timis liberis beatius quo artium stu mesticorum
sanctis pena circa permi diis et cogni maiorumq·
tium deoru- rum mihi ui tione coniū morem etiā
larumq· fami deri solet quae gitur aut quid hanc a socrate ad
liarum sedib· sit tanta doc p· scipione quid uenticiam doc

V. 8, de punctis utrisque dubitari potest.

trinam adhi
buerunt quar
r
e qui utrumq·
uoluit et potuit
id est ut quàm
maiorum ins
titutis tum doc
trina se instrue
ret ad laudem
hunc omnia
consecutum
puto sin aliter
sit utra uia pru
dentiae deligē
da tamen etiā

Si cui uidebitur
illa in optimis
studiis et artibus
quieta ui tae
ratio bea tior
haec ciuilis lau
dabilior est cer
te et inlustrior
ex qua uita sic
summi uiri or
nantur ut uel
m· curius que-
nemo ferro po
tuit superare
nec auro uel

mur ut intel
legatis discre
pare ab aequi
tate sapientiā
lycurgus au
tem ille legum
optumarum
et aequissumi
iuris inuentur
agros locuple
tium plebi ut
seruitio cole-
dos dedit ge
nera uero si
uelim iuris ins

titutorum
morum con
suetudinum
q· describere
non modo in
tot gentib· ua
ria sed in una
urbe uel in hac
ipsa milliens
mutata demōs
trem ut hic iu
ris noster in
terpres alia nunc
manilius iura
dicat esse de mu

V. 12, ante M, *punctum plane cerni non potest.*

V. 9, ad fin., UR *potius quam* OR *adesse uidetur.*

V. 9, de puncto super N *posito dubitari potest.*

de rep

lierum lega	beat mulier	et reperiret	borum mo
tis et heredi	cur uirgini ues	et tueretur al	mentis non
tatib· alia soli	tali sit heres	ter autem de	rerum pon
tus sit adules	non sit matri	ipsa iustitia	derib· exami
5 cens dicere nō	suae cur autē	quattuor im	net illorum 5
dum uoconia	si pecuniae mo	pleuit sane grā	fuit heroum
lege lata quae	dus statuendus	dis libros na-	eam uirtutē
quidem ipsa	fuit feminis· p̄·	ab chrysippo	quae est una
lex utilitatis	crassi filia pos	nihil magnu-	si modost ma
10 uirorum gra	set habere si	nec magniei	xime munifi 10
tia rogata in	unica patri es	cum deside	ca et liberalis
mulieres ple	set aeris milli	raui qui suo	et quae omnis
nast iniuriae	ens salua lege	quodam mo	magis quam
cur enim pecu	mea triciens	re loquitur	sepse diligit
15 niam non ha	non posset	ut omnia uer	aliis nata potius 15

V. 13, fortasse super ST *adest* I *; sed potius maculam adesse crediderim.*

V. 7, ad fin., US *ligatura pallidissima est.*

V. 10, E *alterius deletionis uestigia cerni non possunt.*

V. 15, ad fin., S *minus facile cernitur.*

quam sibi ex
citare iacen
tem et in illo
diuino ſolio
non longe a
sapientia co⁻
loc̣are nec
uero illis aut
uoluntas de
fuit quae enī
iis scribendi
alia causa aut
quod omni
no consiliū
fuit aut inge

nium quo o⁻
nib praestite
runt sed eoru⁻
et uoluntatē
et copiam cau
sa uicit ius enī
de quo q̄rimus
ciuile est ali
quod natura
le nullum nam
si esset ut cali
da et frigida
et ¢amara et
dulcia sic es
sẽnt iusta et ī

Quorum ani
mi altius se ex
tulerunt et ali
quid dignum
dono ut ante
dixi deorū
aut efficere
aut excogita
re potuerunt
quare sint no
bis isti qui de
ratione uiuē
di disserunt
magni homi
nes ut sunt

Sint eruditi
sint ueritatis
et uirtutis ma
gistri dum mo
do sit haec quae
dam siue a ui
ris in rerum
publicarum
uarietate uer
satis inuenta
siue etiam in
istorum otio
ac litteris trac
tata res sicut
est minime

V. 7, supra,⁻ minus facile cernitur.

quidem con
temnenda ra
tio ciuilis et dis
ciplina populo
rum quae per
ficit in bonis
ingeniis id quod
iam persaepe
perfecit ut in
credibilis quae
dam et diuina
uirtus exsiste
teret quodsi
quis ad ea ins
trumenta ani

mi quae natura
quaeq. ciuilib·
institutis ha
buit adiunge-
dam sibi etia-
doctrinam
et uberiore-
rerum cogni
tionem puta
uit ut ii ipsi qui
in horum li
brorum dispu
tatione uer
santur nemo
est quin eos

rere rutilius
quidem nos
ter etiam sub
ipsis numan
tiae moenib·
solebat mecu-
interdum eius
modi aliquid
conquireq̄·
ras tandem
inciderit in
quid pilus tu-
ille de solib· is
tis duobus de
quo studio phi

le ex te audire
quid sentias
dixerat hoc il
le cum puer
nuntiauit ue
nire ad eum
laelium domo
que iam exis
se tum scipio
calceis et ues
timentis sum
tis e cubiculo
est egressus
et cum paulu
lum inambu

V. 11, de puncto super I *tertiam posito dubitari potest.*

V. 12, post P, U *in* I *per rasuram correcta est.*

V. 15, "ex HI *facta est* I" (*DuR.*).

lauisset in por ticu laelium aduenientes salutauit eos qui una uenerant spuriumummium quem in primis diligebat et c· fannium et quintum scaeuolam genueros laeli doctos adulescentes iam aetate

quaesorios quos cum onis salutauis set conuertit se in porticu et coniecit in medium laelium fuit enim hoc in amicitia quasi si quoddam ius inter illos ut militiae propter eximiam belli gloriam

dam quasi semina neq· reliquarum uirtutum nec ipsius reip· rep periatur ulla institutio hi c e eotus igitur hac de qua ex posui causa instituti sedem primum certo loco domiciliorum causa constituens

runt quam cumlocis manuq· saepsissent eius modi coniunctionem tecto rum oppidum uel urbem appellauerunt delubris distinctam spatiisq· communib· omnis ergo populus qui est talis coetus multitudinis qualem

V. 7, ad fin., C *erasa est.*

V. 8, supra, de E *dubitari potest.*

exposui om
nis ciuitatis
quae est cons
titutio populi
omnis resp·
quae ut dixi
populi res est
consilio quo
dam regen
da est ut diu
turna sit id
autem consi
lium primu⁻
semper ad ea⁻
causam refe

rendam est
que causa ge
nuit ciuitate⁻
deinde aut uni
tribuendum
est adiectis
quibusdam
aut suscipie⁻
dum est mul
titudini atq·
omnib· cum
pes unum
est omnium
summa reru⁻
regem illum

detis mors
tiberii grac
chi et iam an
te tota illius
ratio tribu
natus diuisit
populum unu⁻
in duas partis
obtectatores
autem et in
uidis scipiis
initionis fac
tis a p· crasso
et appio clau
dio tenent

nihilo minus
illis mortuis
senatus alte
ram partem
dissidentem
a uobis auc
tore metello
et p· mucio ne
que hunc qui
unus potest
concitatis so
cis et nomine
latino foede
ribus uiola
tis triumui

V. 1, punctum atque lineola minus facile cernuntur.

V. 6, de puncto dubitari potest; littera quae post D *est* L *fuisse uidetur, postea in* I *corr.*

V. 11, super PII, *uestigia quae ad* ON *pertinere putes cernuntur.*

ris seditiosis
simis aliquid
cotidie noui
mouentibus
bonis uiris lo
cupletib· per
tubatis his tā
periculosis
rebus subue
nire patiun
tur quam si
me audietis
adulescentes
solem alteru–
ne metuerit

is autem nul
lus esse potest
aut sit sane
ut sius est mo
do ne sit mo
lestus aut sci
re istarum re
rum nihil at
etiamsi ma
xime sciemus
nec meliores
ob eam scie–
tiam nec bea
tiores esse pos
sumus sena

tum uero et
populum ut
unum habea
mus et fieri po
test et permo
lestum est ni
si fit et secus
esse sciemus
et uidemus
si id effectum
sit et melius
nosse uictu
ros et beatius
tum mucius
quid esse igi

tur censes lae
li discendum
nobis ut istut
efficere possi
mus ipsum
quid postulas
seas artis que
efficiant ut
usui ciuitati
sumus id eni–
esse praecla
rissimum sa
pientiae mu
nus maximu–
que uirtutis

V. 4, de puncto super I *posito dubitari potest.*

V. 8, E *tertia erasa est, lineola fortasse prius perducta.*

V. 7, lineola per S *primam perducta minus facile cernitur.*

uel docume⁻ tatis de ali q.⁻ tum etsse nec cellens in re
tum uel offici ramus quib· tamen aduer militari glo
um puto quam cognitis spero sante fortu ria magnae
ob rem ut hae nos ad haec nam mortuo q· extiterunt
feriae nobis ipsa uia perue⁻ rege popilio res bellice fe
ad utilissimos turos earum tullum hoc citq· fidem et
reip· sermo q· rerum ra tilium popu t sempsit de
nes potissimu⁻ tionem que lus regem i⁻ manib· comi
conferantur nunc instant terrogante tium et curia⁻
scipionem ro explicaturos em commit constituitq·
gemus ut ex cum id et plii tis curiatis ius quo bella
plicet quem lus et mani craeui pilipo indicerentur
existimet es lius et mum populum con quod per se ius
se optimum mius admo suluit curua tissime inue⁻
statum ciui dum proyta tim cuius ex tum sanxit

V. 15, supra, D *minus facile cernitur; super* U *fortasse punctum positum est.*

V. 13, supra, I *ultima minus facile cernitur.*

V. 14, U *ultima in* I *per rasuram correcta est.*

Sub I. columna, haec uestigia adsunt:

? ? ? ?
s i dem o suo ex
? ?
emplo pompili

isq. de imperio suo exemplo [pompili

V. 5, lineola per E *alteram perducta ad deletionem non pertinet, sed fortuito facta est.*

V. 6, F *erasa est.*

V. 8, punctum post B *positum minus facile cernitur.*

fetiali religio quaedam esse facile in ciui erat in eo prae
ne ut omne populo mul tatem recep terea summa
bellum quod ta enim nobis tus esset prop comitas sum
denuntiatu- de eo genere ter humani ma in omnis
indictumq· dicenda sunt tatem atque cuiuis opis au
non esset id ne insignib· doctrinam xilii defensio
iniustum es quidem re anco regi fa ni largiendi
se adq. inpiu- gis tullus ni milia ris etiam benig
iudicaretur si iussu popu est fac tus nitas itaque
et ut aduerta l[ ] est ausus uti usq· eo ut co- mortuo mar
tis animum nam ut sit sibi siliorum o- cio cunctis
quam sapien duodecim nium parti populi suffra
ter iam reges lictores cum ceps et socius giis rex est cre
hos nostri ui fascibus an paene regni atus l· tarqui
derint tribuenda tere l[ ]ceret putaretur nius sic enim

V. 10, l *in lacuna prius exstitisse putes.*
V. 15, "erasa l*" DuR. (scilicet quinta littera, inter* E *et* L*).*

V. 5, de lineolis per S *et* P *perductis dubitari potest.*

suum nome⁻ num patru⁻ re melior ego nus in maxi
ex graeco no numerum cum mihi sit ma arte qua⁻
mine infle et antiquos in unum opus illi in minimis
xerat ut in o⁻ patres maio hoc a paren operae con
ni genere hu rum gentiu⁻ tibus maiori sumserint
ius populi co⁻ appellauit quos busque meis set neque his
suetudine⁻ priores sen relictum pro contentus su⁻
uideretur i ten tiam curato adq· q· de ista con
mitatus isq· rog abat administra sultatione
ut de suo im a se adscitos tio reip· non scripta nobis
perio legem minorum me inritio summi ex graecia
tulit princi deinde equi rem esse co⁻ sapientis
pio legem tu tatum ad hunc fitear quam simique ho
lit duplicauit morem cons opificem que⁻ minis reliq·
illum pristi tituit qui us quam si mi runt neque

V. 8, supra, ⁻ pallidius et, ut mihi uidetur, a correctore positum adest.

V. 14, de puncto super I *alteram posito dubitari potest.*

ea quae mihi uidentur a- teferre illis audeo qua- ob rem peto a uobis ut me sic audiatis neque ut om nino exper tem graeca rum rerum neq. ut eas nos tris in hoc prae sertim gene re antepone-

tem set ut unu- e togatis patris diligentia no- inliberaliter institutum studioq. dis cendi a pue ritia incen sum usu ta men et domes ticis praecep tis multo ma gis eruditum quam litteris hic philus no-

hercule in quit scipio du bito quin tibi ingenio praes titerit nemo usu quidem in rep. rerum maximaru- facile omnis uiceris quib. autem stu diis semper fueris tene mus quam ob rem si ut

dicis animu- quoque con tulisti in ista- rationem et quasi artem habeo maxi mam gratia- laelio spero eni- multo uberio ra fore quae a te dicentur quam illa quae a graecs no bis scripta sunt omnia

de rep.

tum ille permag	culum ne de te	tis set suum	iter ad finiti
nam tu quide⁻	de rep· dissere⁻	statum tene⁻	mum quoddā
expectatione⁻	tem deficiat	tibus quae ge	malum prae
quod onus est	oratio	nera primum	ceps ac lubri
ei qui magnis	hic scipio faci	sunt in iis sin	cum nam illi
de rebus dic	am quod uul	gula uitiis que	regi ut eum po
turus est gra	tis ut potero	ante dixi dei⁻	tissimum ne
uissimum in	etiam gredi	de habent per	minem tole
ponis oratio	ar i disputatio	niciosa alia	rabili aut si
ni meae et pi	nem ea lege	utia nullum	uoltis etiam
lus quamuis	qua credo o⁻	est enim ge	abili cyro sub
sit magna ta	nibus in reb·	nus illarum	est ad inmu
men eam ui⁻	disserendis	rerum publi	tandi animi
ces ut soles q·	utendum	carum quod	licentiam cru
enim est peri	esse si erro	non habeat	delissimus il

V. 10, de lineola per H *perducta dubitari potest.*

V. 1, de lineola per D *perducta dubitari potest.*

V. 8, puncta super A *et* M *posita minus facile cernuntur.*

V. 7, lineola per E *perducta minus facile cernitur.*

V. 11, supra, M *litterae dimidium solum cernitur.*

le phalaris cu tempore aput gandi et agro nitas ipsa uel
ius in similitu athenienses rum et armo sumptuosas
dinem domi triginta co⁻ rum cultum uel desidiosas
natus unius sensus et fac reliquerant inlecebras
procliui cur tio iam athe multa etiam multas cupidi
sum et facile niensium po ad luxuriam tatum et quod
dilabitur illi puli potesta inuitamen de corintho
autem massi tem omniu⁻ ta pernĭciosa dixi id aut scio
liensium pau rerum ipsi ne ciuitatibus an liceat de
corum et pri⁻ alios requi subpeditan cuncta grae
cipum admi ramus ad fu tur mari que cia uerissime
nistrationi rorem mul uel capiuntur dicere nam
ciuitatis fini titudinis li uel inporta⁻ et ipsa pol̷po⁻
timus est qui centiamq· co⁻ tur atque ha nesus fere to
fuit quodam uersam pesti bet iam amoe ta in mari est

V. 6, de puncto super M *posito dubitari potest.*

nec prater phi
luntios ulli
sunt quorum
agri non con
tingant mare
et extra p/elo
ponnesum en
nianes et doris
et dolopes soli
absunt a mari
quid dicam i-
sulas graeciae
que fluctibus
cinctae natant
paene im ipsae

simul cum ci
uitat/s insti
tutis et morib·
atq· haec qui
dem ut supra
dixi ueter/s
sunt graeciae
coloniarum
uero quae est
deducta a grais
s in asiam qua-}
/unda non
adluat ita bar
barorum agris
quasi adtexta
thraciam italiam sici
liam africam praeter
unam magnesiam}

quaedam
uidetur ora
esse graeciae
nam e bar
baris quide-
ipsis nulli erant
antea mari
tumi p/eter
etruscos et poe
nos alteri
mercandi
causa latro
cinandi al
teri quae cau
sa perspicua

est malorum
commutatio
numque gre
ciae propter
ea uitia ma
ritimarum
urbium quae
ante paulo
per/breuiter
adtigisset ta
men in hiis
uitiis inest il
la magna co-
moditas et ubi
que gent/um

V. 7, ad fin., de N *dubitari potest.*

V. 6, supra, de I *dubitari potest.*

Est ut ad aea- romulus et ui eodemq· ut flu quando et do
urbem qua- tia uitare qua- mine res ad mum summo
incolas possit quod urbem uictumque cultum esse imperio
adnare et rur perennis am praebitura-
sus ut id quod nis et aequa essarias no- nam hanc re
agri efferant blis et in ma solum mari rum tantum
sui quascum re late influ absorberet potentiam no-
que uelint in entis posuit sed etiam in ferme facilius
terras porta in ripa quo uectas acci ulla in parte
re possint ac posset urbs et peret ex terra italiae posita
mittere qui po accipere ex aut mihi iam urbs tenere
tuit igitur di mari quo e tum diuinas potuisset
uinitus et uti geret et red se ille uidea urbis autem ip
litates conplec dere quo re tur hanc ur sius natiua
ti maritimas dundare et bem sedm ali praesidia quis

V. 10, "*Ex* P *facta* B" (*DuR.*).
V. 11, de punctis dubitari potest.

V. 6, ad fin., UM *potius quam* AM *adesse uidetur, quamquam de hac re dubitari potest.*
V. 11, "*Ex* P *facta* B" (*DuR.*).

est tam nec tibus unus us temerita permisso otio
legens qui no⁻ aditus qui es temq· multo suo quibus id
habeat animo set inter ẽes rum mediu⁻ tuendum est
notata plane quiillinum optimates pos neq· commit
cognita cuius quirinalem sederunt lo tendum ut
is est tractatus q· montem cum quo ni sua commoda
ductusq· muri maximo ag hil potest esse populus negle
cum romuli gere obiecto moderatius gi a principibus
tum etiam re fossa cingere quib· remp· tu putet nam ae
liquorum re tur uastissi entib· beatissi quabilitas qui
gum sapientia ma mos esse popu dem iuris qua⁻
definitus ex atque ut ita los necesse est amplexantur
omni parte munita arx uacuos om· liberi populi
arduis prae circumiectu ni cura et co neque serua
ruptisque mo⁻ arduo et qua gitatione alis ri potest ipsi en⁻ⁱ

V. 1, ad fin., C *potius quam* G *litterae uestigia adesse uidentur.*

V. 4, puncta super IL *posita minus facile cernuntur.*

populi quam betur honos
uis soluti ec summis et i-
frenatique fimis qui sint
sint praecipu in omni popu
e multis mul lo necesse est
ta triuunt et ipsa aequitas
est in iis is mag iniquissima
nus dilectus sit quod in iis
hominum ciuitatibus
et dignitatu- quae ab opti
aeque que ap mis reguntur
pellabitur ae accidere no-
quabilitas ini potest haec
quissimast cu- fere laeli et
enim par ha quaedam eius

dem generis lum ipsum per se
ab iis qui eam separatim pro
formam reip. bo antepono
maxima lau que singulis
dant disputa illut quod co-
ri solent tum flatum fuerit
laelius quid ex omnibus
tu inquit scipio set si unum
e tribus istis ac simplex p.
quid maxime bandum
probas recte regium
quaeris quid dem
maxime e tri pri
bus quonia- in
eorum nul f

hoc loco appellatur occurrit nomen quasi patriu regis ut ex se natis ita consulentis suis ciuib. ut eos coeruantis stuius quatentis tem is tib. u

Os sustentari unius optimi et summi uiri diligentia adsunt optimates qui se melius hoc idem facere profitentur plus quefore dicant in pluribus consilii quam in uno et eam

descripta uiuo tamen eo interfecto multo etiam magis romulus patrum auctoritate consilioque quae regnauit quo facto prius uidit iu dicauitque idem quod spartae lycurgus paulo an

te uiderat singulari imperio et potestate regia tum melius gubernari et regi ciuitates si esset optimi cuius iusque ad illauim domination adiunctа auctoritas itaque hoc consilio et quasi senatu fultus

V. 8, super E *alteram, punctum parum facile cernitur.*

et munitus piciis plurimu⁻
et bella cum obsecutus est
finitimis feli romulus
cissime mul nam et ipse pri⁻ (quod)
ta gessit·et cu⁻ cipum reip· (i)
ipse nihil ex fuit urbem
praeda domu⁻ condididit
suam repor auspicato et
taret locuple omnibus pu
tare ciuis no⁻ blicis rebus
destitit tunc instituendis
id quod reti qui sibi essent
nemus hodie in auspiciis ex
magna cum singulis tri
salute reip· aus bubus singu

los cooptauit locorum pos
augures et ha sessionibus
buit plebem ex quo pecunio
in clientelas si et locupletes
principum uocabantur
descriptam no (n) ui et suppli
quod quan cis (i) coercebat
te fuerit·utili (a) ac romulus
tate (i.) post uide cum septe et
rom triginta reg
multaq· dictio nauisset an
ne ouium et nos et haec
boꝝum quod egregia duo
tum erat res firmamen
in pecore et ta reip· peperisset

V. 6, ad fin., uestigia litterarum ACCC O *apparent, a correctore, ut uidetur, scriptarum.*

V. 9, de puncto super E *posito dubitari potest.*

V. 9, non puto uestigia ⁻ *signi super uersum post* E *alteram exstare.*

auspicia et
senatum ta-
tum est con
secutus ut cu-
subito sole
obscurato
non conpru
isset deorum
in numero
conlocatus
putaretur qua-
opinionem
nemo umqua-
mortalis ad
sequi potuit

sine eximia
uirtutis glo
ria
atque hoc eo
magis est in
romulo ad
mirandum
quod ceteri
qui dii ex ho
minib· facti
esse dicuntur
minus erudi
tis hominu-
saeculi fue
runt et fin

gendi procli
uis esse ratio
cum imperiti
facile ad cre
dendum in
pellerentur
romuli aute-
aetatem mi
nus his sesce-
tis annis iam
inueteratis
litteris atq·
doctrinis o-
nique illo an
tiquo ex incul

ta hominum
uita errore
sublato fuis
se cernimus
nam si id quod
graecorum
inuestigatur
annalibus
roma condi
tast secundo
anno olympia
des septumae
in id saeculu-
romuli cae
cidit aetas cu-

V. 15, de puncto super E *posito dubitari potest.*

V. 2, post ERRORE, *erasa* S (*ut DuR. quoque uisum est*).

de rep

iam plena grae
cia poetarum
et muscorum
esset minor
que fabulis
nisi de ueteri
bus rebus ha
beretur fides
nam centum
et octo annis
postquam ly
curgus leges
scribere ins
tituit prima
posita est oly-

pias quam qui
dam nominis
errore ab eo
dem lycurgo
constituta-
putant home
rum autem
qui minimu-
dicunt lycur
gi aetati tri
ginta annis
anteponunt
fere ex quo i-
tellegi potest
permultis annis an

attulerit reg
noue eum spo
liauit aut etia-
id quod eue
nit saepius op
timatum san
guinem gus
tauit ac tota-
remp. substra
uit ac totam
remp. substra
uit liuidini
suae causae
putes autem
mare ullum

aut flamam
esset tam qua-
quam facilius
sit sedare qua-
effrenatam
insolentia
multitudine-
tum fit illut
quod aput pla
tionem est lu
culente dictu-
si modo id ex
primere lati
ne potuerunt
difficile factu

·q· xu·

V. 2, sexta littera, aut T *aut* I, *erasa est.*
V. 6, M *litterae deletionis uestigia facile cerni non possunt.*
V. 10, I *litterae deletionis uestigia facile cerni non possunt.*
V. 14, U *alt. in* O *corr.*

... sed
rus est cona magistratus rella lucre quiniorum
bor tamen cu⁻ et principes ni tiae patris ac esse iussit
enim inquit si ualde len es et propinquo uidetisne igi
inexplebiles remissi sint et rum et recor tur ut de re
populi fauces large sibi liber datione su ge dominus
exaruerunt tatem minis p verbiae tar extiterit uni
libertatis siti trent insequi quinii mul usque uitio
malisq· usus tur insimulat tarumq· in genus reip· i⁻
ille ministris arguit prae iuriarum ex bono in de
non modice t pollentes re et ipsius et fi i terrumum
temperatam ges tyrannos liorum ex conuersu⁻
sed nimis me uocat puto ulem et rege⁻ sit hic est eni⁻
racam liber enim tibi haec ipsum et li dominus
tatem sitiens esse nota ue beros eius et e populi quam
hauserit tum ro mihi in gentem tar graeci tyra⁻

V. 6, de B *prioris deletionis signis dubitari potest.*

V. 8, fortasse punctum super I *alteram adest.*

num uocant
nam regem
illum uolunt
esse qui con
sulit ut parens
populo con
seruatq· eos
quibus est prae
positus quam
optima in co-
dione uiuen
di sane bonu-
ut dixi rep· ge
nus sed tame-
inclinatum

et quasi pro
num at per
niciosissimu-
statum
simul atq· e
nim se infle
xit hic rex i-
dominatu-
iniustiore-
fit continuo
tyrannus
quo neq· tae
triús neq· foe
dius nec dis
hominibus

regale qua-
explanatio
nem aequita
tis in qua iuris
erat interprae
tatio quod ius
priuati pete
re solebant
a regib· ob eas
qui causas a
gri arui et ar
busti et pascui
lati atq· ube
res definieba-
tur qui essent

regi qui co
lerenturque
sine regum
opera et labo
re ut eos nul
la priuati ne
gotii cura a po
pulorum re
bus abduce
ret nec uero
quisquam pri
uatus erat dis
ceptator aut
arbiter litis
sed omnia cō

V. 13, super REP·, I *cerni non potest, fortasse propter Aug. scripturam.*

de re · pub·

ficiebantur bella gesserunt asia ti· gracchus uoluntate⁻
iudiciis regiis et eorum iura perseuerauit nobis oboedi
et mihi quidē coluerunt il in ciuib· socio unt terrore
uidetur nu la aut diutur rum nominis teneantur
ma noster ma na pax numae q· latini iura etsi nobis qui
xime tenuis mater huic ur neclexit ac foe id aetatis su
se hunc mo bi iuris et reli dera quae si mus euigila
rem uetere⁻ gionis fuit qui consuetudo tum ferest ta
graeciae re legum etiam ac licentia ma men de poste
gum nam ce scriptor fuis nare coeperit ris nostris et
teri etsi hoc set quas scitis latius imperiū de illa immor
quoq· mune extare quod q· nostram talitate rei· p·
re fungeba⁻ quidem huius ad uim a iure sollicitor quae
tur magna⁻ ciuis propriu⁻ traduxerit poterat esse
tamen parte⁻ de quo agimus ut qui adhuc perpetua si pa

V. 1, ad fin., — *signum adesse uidetur.*

tris uiueretur
institutis et
morib· q· qū
dixisset laeli
us etsi omnes
qui aderant
significabat
ab eo se esse
admodum
delectatos ta
men praeter
ceteros scipio
quasi quodā
gaudio elatus
multas tu qui

dem inqu it
laeli saepe cau
sas ita defen
disti ut ego nō
modo tecū
seruium gal
bam collegā
nostrum quē
tu quoad uixit
omnib· ante
ponebas uerū
ne atticorū
quidem ora
torum quem
quam aut sua

reportare
ergo illam rē
populi id est rē
p· quis diceret
tum cum cru
delitate unius
oppressi essent
uniuiuersi
neq· esset unū
uinculum
iuris nec cō
sensus ac so
cietas coetus
quod est po
pulus atque

hoc idem sy
racusis urps
illa praeclara
quam ait timae
us graecarū
maxumam
omnium au
tem esse pulcher
rimam arx ui
senda portus
usq· in sinus
oppidis et adur
bis crepidines
infusi uiae la
tae porticus

V. 2, fortasse lineola per T *ultimam perducta est.*

V. 8, ad fin., R *facile cerni non potest.*

lib· · u

templa muri
nihilo magis
efficiebant dio
nysio tenen
te ut esset illa
resp· nihil enī
populi et unius
erat populius
ipse ergo ubi
tyrannus est
ibi non uitio
sam ut heri di
cebam sed ut
nunc ratio co
git dicendu-

est plane nul
lam esse rem
p· praeclare
quidem dicis
laelius etenī
uideo iam quo
pergat oratio
uides igitur
ne illam qui
dem quae to
ta sit in factio
nis potestate
posse uere di
ci remp· sic pla
ne iudico et

q xl

dicum semi
numque cog
noscere inū
te offendet ni
hil si modo
opus extabit
num id studi
n
um ceses es
se uilici mini
me quippe cum
agri cultura-
saepissime o
pera deficiat
ergo ut uilicus
naturam agri

nouit dispe-
sator litteras
scit uterq· au
tem se a scien
tiae delecta
tione ad effi
ciendi utilita
tem refertur
sic noster hic
rector studu
erit sane iu
re et legib· cog
noscendis fo-
tis quidem ea
rum utiq· per

V. 8, punctum super I *positum minus facile cernitur.*

Ima in pagina, ante numerum, Q *difficile cernitur.*

De primo uersu non dubitandum esse mihi uidetur

Spexerit sed mo potest occurrere solentia ne
se responsi ciuilis non in Nam rex ille que uos mo
tando et lec perditus sed de quo loquor res regere po
titando et ita ut astro primum op terat neque
scriptitando rum guber timi regis cae suorum libi
ne impediat nator physi de macula dines
ut quasi dis corum medi tus integra itaque cum
pensare rem cus uterq· e mente no- maior eius
p· et in ea quo nim illis ad ar erat et cum filius lucre
dam modo tem suam u metueret u tiae tricipiti
ipse poenam sceleris sui ? [summa-
uilicare pos titur sed se me tui se uolebat ni filiae con
sit summi iu a suo mune deinde uicto latini uxori
ris peritissi re non impe riis diuitiis i um attulis
mus sine quo dit illut autē q· subnixus set mulierq·
iustus esse ne uidebit hic uir exultabat i- pudens et no

V. 3, D *prioris deletionis uestigia facile cerni non possunt.*

V. 10, ad fin., U *erasa est.*

de · rep·

bilis ob illam totam remp· te uel in agris cadit itaq· ex
iniuriam ẽs sustinuit pri ?? ? uel in agris uel hac maxima
se ipsa mor musq· in hac in corporibus libertate tyra⁻
te multauis ciuitate do laetiora fue nus gignitur
set cuit in con runt in con et illa iniustis
tum uir inge seruanda ci traria fere co⁻ sima et duris
nio et uirtu uium liber uertuntur sima seruitus
te praestans tate esse pri maximeque ex hoc enim
l· brutus de uatum ne in reb· publi populo indo
pulit a ciuib· minem cis euenit ni mito uel potius
suis iniustu⁻ quo auctore miaque illa immani deligi
illut dura ser et principe libertas et po tur aliqui ple
uitutis iugu⁻ concitata pulis et priua rumque dux
qui cum pri ciuitas et hac tis in nimiam contra illos
uatus esset recenti que seruitutem principes ad

V. 2, **S** *litterae deletionis signa facile cerni non possunt.*

V. 2, per **U** *priorem lineola fortasse perducta est.*

lib. i

flictos iam	antur prae	Saluam esse	laboris neq·
et depulsos lo	sidis etiam ut	consulatu	tantum mo
co audax in	t athenis ipsis	abiens in co⁻	lestiae quan
purus consec	stratus saepi	tione p·r idem	tum gloriae
tans propter	untur postre	iurante iu	maioremque
ue baene sae	mo a quibus	rassem faci	laetitiam ex
pe de rep· me	producti sunt	le iniuriaru⁻	desiderio bo
ritos populo	existun eo	omnium co⁻	norum per
gratificans	rum ipsoru⁻	pensarem cu	cepimus qua⁻
et aliena et sua	tyranni quos	ram et moles	ex laetitia in
cui qui uato	si boni oppres	tiam quam	proborum do
sunt oppositi	serunt ut sae	quam nostri	lorem sed si
timores dan	pe fit recrea	casus plus ho	aliter ut dixi
tur imperia	tur ciuitas si⁻	noris habue	accidisset qui
et ea continu	audaces fit il	runt quam	possem quaeri

V. 6, A *prioris deletionis signa facile cerni non possunt.*

V. 8, de T *prioris neque deletione neque rasura liquet.*

V. 1, de lineola per U *perducta dubitari potest.*

Cum mihi ni
hil inrouiso
nec grauius
quam expecta
uissem pro ta-
tis meis factis
euenisset is e
nim fueram cui
ju liceret aut
maior ex otio
fructus cape
re quam ce
teris propter
uariam sua
uitatem stu

dio in quibus
a pueritia ui
xeram aut si
quid accideret
acerbius uni
uersis non
praecipuam
sed parem cu-
ceteris for
tunae con
dicionem sub
ire non du
bitauerim me
grauissimis
tempestatibus

si circumci
so saxo nite
retur ut etia-
in illa tempes
tate horribi
li gallici ad
uentus inco
lumis adque
intacta per
manserit
locumq· de
legit et fon
tib· undante-
et in regione
pestilenti salu

brem colles
enim sunt qui
cum perflua-
tur ipsi tum ad
ferunt umbra-
uallib· atq· haec
quidem per
celeriter con
ueńit nam et
urbem cons
tituit quam e
suo nomine
romam ius
sit nominari
et affirman

de rep. lib. i.

dam nouam honestę hor
ciuitatem no tas uirginis
uum quod quae roma-
dam et sub ludorum
agreste con gratia uenis
silium sed ad sent quos tu-
muniendas primum an
opes ęg regni niuersarios
ac populi sui in circo face
magni homi re instituis
nis et iam tu- set consulib.
longe proui rapi iussit eas
dentis secu que in fami
tus est liarum am
cum sabinas plissimarum

re in his locis litatemque
pythagorae sermonis cu-
nomen uige obscuritate
ret illum se pythagorae
et hominibus et cum illa plu
pythagoreis rimarum ar
et studiis illis tium graui
dedisse itaq. tate contexu
cum socrate- it haec scipio
unice dilexis cum dixisset
set eique om l. furium repe-
nia tribuere te ueniente-
uoluisset le aspexit eumque
porem socra ut salutauit
ticum suptili amicissime

V. 15, ad fin., LI *litterarum deletionis uestigia cerni non possunt.*

V. 1, LI *litterarum deletionis uestigia cerni non possunt.*

adprehendit	Sermonem	quid uilico	ducebat ad eam consilio sedari uolebat
et in lecto suo	uestrum ali	quem necas	de auaritia⁻
conlocauit	quem dire	sem iam uer	adde imperii
et cum simul	mit noster	beribus nisi	adde gloriae
p· rutilius ue	interuentus	ratus essem	cupiditatem
nisset qui est	in me uero	optime in	adde liuidines
nobis huius	africanus so	quid scipio	et illud uidest
sermonis auc	les enim tu haec	ergo archy	in animis ho
tor eum quo	studiosae in	tas iracun	minum rega
que ut saluta	uestigare q̄·	diam uide	les imperium
uit propter tu	sunt in hoc	licet disside⁻	sit unius fo
beronem ius	genere de	tem a ratio	re domina
sit adsere tu⁻	quo institue	ne seditione⁻	tum consilii
furius quid	rat paulo an	quandam	scilicet ea est
uos agitis nu⁻	te tubero que	ab animo re	animi pras op

V. 6, Q *minus facile cernitur.*
V. 15, ad fin., ⁻ *signum minus facile cernitur.*

V. 1, punctum super D *alteram positum parum facile cernitur.*
V. 4, ad fin., AE *parum facile cernitur.*
V. 7, ultima littera fortasse I *est.*
V. 10, S *litterae deletionis signa parum facile cernuntur.*
V. 15, R *litterae deletionis signa parum facile cernuntur.*

tima consilio
autem domi
nante nullu⁻
esse liꝺidinib·
nullum irae
nullum teme
ritati locum
sic inquid est
probas igitur
animum ita
adfectum ni
hil uero in
quit magis er
go non pro
fectum nihil

uero inquit
magis ergo
non brroba
res sic consi
lio pulso lidi
dines que sunt
numerabi
les iracundiae
ue terent o⁻
nia ego uero
nihil isto ani
mo [illegible]
[illegible]ni
hil ita anima
to homine

miserius du
cerem sub reg
no igitur tibi
esse placet o⁻
nis animi par
tes et eas regi
consilio mihi
uero sic pla
cet cur igitur
dubitas quid
de rep· senti
as in qua si i⁻
plures trans
lata res sit in
tellegi iam

licet nullum
fore quod prae
sit inperium
quod quidem
nisi unum
sit esse nul
lum potest
tum laelius
quid quasi
interest in
ter unum
et plures si ius
titia est om
nium in plu
ribus et scipio

V. 4, ad fin., de B· *dubitari potest; sed hunc locum in ipso codice non uidi.*

V. 9, lincola per N *perducta minus facile cernitur.*

V. 11, inter D *et* F, F *altera posterius scripta est.*

VV. 13, 14, Recte Du Rieu, "Apparent lineolarum vestigia, quibus deleatur prius illud MAGIS ERGO."

V. 3, R *prior, erasa hasta, in* P *mutata est.*

quoniam tes tibus meis in tellexi laeli te non ualde moueri non desinam te uti teste ut hoc quod dico probem me inquit ille quo niam modo quia animu- aduerti nu per cum esse mus in forma

no tae famili ae ualde in terdicere ut uni dicto au diens esset quippe uili quid domi pluresne prae imo uero egot is tuis immo uero unus inquit quid totam domum nu- quis altera praeter te re git minime uero quin tu igitur co-

quidnam se- tirem de hoc quod duo so les uisos esse constaret a in uero phile iam explora ta nobis sunt eaq. at domos nostras que q. ad remp. per tinent si qui dem quid aga tur in caelo querimus

et ille an tu at domos nos tras non cen ses pertinere scire quid aga tur et quid fi at domi quae non ea est qua- parietes nos tri cingunt sed mundus hic totus quod domicilium quamque pa triam di no

V. 7, lineolae aliae cerni non possunt.
V. 8, supra, NEGOTIIS TUIS etc. *adfuisse uidetur.*

V. 1, ad fin., T *litterae deletionis uestigia adesse uidentur.*
V. 15, supra, de I *dubitari potest.*

bis commu tiae cognitio matrimonis tae erant ora-
nem secum ipsa rerum collocabit tibus quo foe
dederunt cu- consideratio qua ex causa dere et sabinos
praesertim que delectat cum bellum in ciuitatem
si haec igno tum laelius romanis sa adscibit sacris
remus mul non inpeꝝ bini intulis conmunica
ta nobis et dio praeser sent proeliiq· tis et regnum
magna igno tim quonia- certamen suum cum il
randa sint ac feriati sumus uarium atq· lorum rege
me quidem sed possumus anceps fuis sociauit
ut hercule audire aliquid set cum t· tatio post interitum
etiam te ipsu- an serius ue regꝝ sabino aútem tatii cu-
laeli omnis nimus nihil rum foedus ad eum ꝓꝓ-
que auidꝰ est adhꝯc dis cit matronis ꝑatus omnis
omnis sapie- putatum et is ipsis quae rap reccidisset

quamquam lio occiderat latinis ipsis ma facultatem
cum tatio in in tribus tris ne ad eum pri ad explican
regium con curiasq· tri mus sororis das tuas litte
silium dele ginta descrip filius uenit tu ras tum ille
gerant prin serat quas cu uero quem cu- mihi uero o-
cipes qui appel ras earum no comiter scipio ne tempus ad
lati sunt prop minibus nun atpellauisset meos libros
ter caritate- cupauit quae libenterq· ui uacuum nu-
patres populu- ex sabinis uir disset quid tu quam enim
que et suo et gines raptae inquid tan sunt illi occu
tanti nom et postea fuerunt mane tube pati te autem
lucumonis oratrices et ro dauant permagnum
qui romuli foederis enim hae ſi est nancisci
socius in sabi Set quamqua- erie tibi oppor otiosum hoc
queno proe et tatio sic erant tunam sane praesertim motu

V. 7, T *priorem deletam esse,* P *supra posita, Du Rieu putauit.*
V. 13, ad fin., punctum super I *positum non cernitur.*

V. 7. E *alterius deletionis signa minus facile cernuntur.*

de rep. lib. i.

reip· tum sci abuti tecum que iudicio
pio adqui nac hoc otio libe- uel etiam meo
tus es sed me ter me uero studio me to
hercule otio ut aliquid a tate audien tum ab adu
siorem opera liquando de di ingressus lescentiam
quam animo doctrinae est sic loqui dedidi cuius
et ille at ut ue studiis admo scipio cato me numqua-
ro animum neamur tu- nis hoc senis satiare potu
quoque rela ille uisne igi est quem it oratio tan
xes oportet su tur quonia- ut scitis uni tus erat in
mus enim mul et me quoda- ce dilexi ma homine usus
ti ut constitui modo inui ximeque su- reip· quam et
mus paratа tas et tuis spem admiratus domi et mili
si tuo commo das hoc primu- cuique uel tiae cum opti
do fieri potest africanae patris utrius me tum etia-

q· iiii·

V. 15, post F *ad lacunam* l *litterae uestigia cerni possunt.*

V. 15, init., scriba M *exarare coepit;* P *in* F *mutata esse uidetur; littera supra posita, neglegentius exarata, utrum* P *an* R *sit dubitari potest.*

diutissime gesserat et modus in di cendo et gra uitate mix tus lepos et summum uel dicendi studium uel docendi et o ratione uita admodum congraues is dicere sole bat ob hanc

causam praes tare nostrae ciuitatis sta tum ceteris ciuitatibus quod in illis singulis fuis sent fere quorū sua quisq· re- p· constitu issent legib· atque insti tuisset legi bus atque institutis s

suis ut cretu- minos lacae demonioru- lycurgus atheniensi umq· persae pe commu tata esset tu- teseus tum draco tum solo tum clis thenes tum multi alii pos tremo exsa- guem iam

et iacentem doctus uir phalereus sus tentasset de metrius nos tra autem res p· non unius esset ingenio sed multorū nec una ho minis ulla sed aliquod constituta saeculis et aetatibus na-

V. 8, "*litteris* rū *ita erasis ut restat* l" (*Du R.*). *Sed potius crediderim* l *in* oRū *mutatam esse.*

V. 15, super S *ultimam fortasse punctum positum est; facile autem cerni non potest.*

V. 11, ULLA *non* UITA *adesse uidetur.*

de· rep· lib· i·

	neque ullu⁻	plecterentur	nibusque do	ea ne nostru⁻	
	ingenium	sine rerum	cuisset popu	quidem en	
	tantum exti	usu ac uetus	lum liberauit	nium fugit	
	tisse dicebat	ac uetusta	metu erat e	qui ut scribit	
5	ut quem res	te quam ob re⁻	nim tum haec	anno quin	5
	nulla fugeret	ut ille solebat	noua et igno	quagesimo	
	quisquam ali	ita nunc me	ta ratio sole⁻	ccc fere post ro	
	quando fuis	a repetet ora	lunae oppo	mam condi	
	set neq· cunc	tio populi r· ori	situm sole	tam non· iu	
10	ta ingenia co⁻	ginem libe⁻	re deficere	nis soli luna	10
	lata in unu⁻	ter enim etia⁻	quod thale	obstitit et nox	
	tantum pos	uerbo utor	tem milesiu⁻	adque hac	
	se uno tempo	catonis fa	primum ui	in re tanta i⁻	
	re prouidere	autem cilius quod	disse dicunt	est ratio ad	
15	ut omnia co⁻	est propositu⁻	id autem post	que sollertia	15

VV. 7, 8, "quisquam : : : iquando *Dubius haereo sintne punctis notatae* AM *an uero maculis, sitne emendatum* ALIQVANDO, *quod I saltem non dedit, an uero maculae non litterae* ALI" (*DuR.*).

V. 9, "*vestigia litterarum I manus, quae erasae sunt*" (*DuR.*).

V. 9, "POPVLIRIRIGINEM *prior* R *erasa est et ex sequenti* I *facta* O; *forte cum* R *revocandum est* Romani" (*DuR.*).

V. 9, "*d.* M *lineola de more, quam recte cernes medium inter maculas*" (*DuR.*).

V. 4, ad fin., IT *parum facile cerni potest.*

aut ex hoc romulum romuli sena ge remp. popu
die quem aput tenebris eti tus qui cons lus id non tu
ennium et i⁻ amsi natura tabat ex opti lit desiderio
maximis an ad hum exi anum matibus qui que romuli
nalib. consig tum abripu bus ipse rex postea regem
natum uide it uirtus ta tantum tri flagitare no⁻
mus superio men in cae buisset ut eos destitit cum
ris solis defec lum dicitur patres uellet prudenter il
tiones repu sustulisse nominari pa li principes no
tate sint usq. tum tubero triciosq. eo uam et inau
ad illam q̄. no uidesne afri rum liberos ditam ceteris
nis quinctili cane quod temtaret post gentibus in
bus fuit reg paulo ante romuli exces terregni in
nante romu secus tibi ui sum ut ipse ge eundi ratio
lo quib. quide⁻ debatur doc reret sine re nem excogi

V. 8, punctum super I *priorem positum minus facile cernitur.*
V. 11, ⁻ signum super Q *correctoris manu scriptum esse uidetur.*
V. 12, punctum super A *alteram positum minus facile cernitur.*

tauerunt ut
quoad certus
rex declara
tus esset nec
sine rege ciui
tas nec diutur
no rege esset
uno nec com
mitteretur
ut quisquam
inueterata
potestate aut
ad deponen
dum imperi
um tardior es

sed aut ad op
tinendum
munitior quod
quidem tem
pore nouus
ille populus
uidit tamen
id quod fugit
lacedemo
nium lycur
gum qui no-
redigendu-
duxit si modo
haec in lycur
gi potestate

potuit esse sed
habendum
qualiscumq·
is fore quales
quisq· is foret
quo modo es
set herculis
stirpe genera
tus
nostri illi etia-
tum agestes
uiderunt uir
tutem et sapi
entiam rega
lem non pro

geniem quae
ri oportere qui
bus cum esse
praestantem
numam pom
pilium fama-
fret praeter
missis suis ci
uibus regem
alienigena-
patribus auc
toribus sibi ip
se populus ad
scibit eumq·
ad regnandu-

V. 9, lineola per A *perducta minus facile cernitur.*

V. 14, punctum super B *positum minus facile cernitur.*

de rep.

sabinum ho tuto romuli in ipsius pa ea quaere
minem ro bellicis studi terno gene bat quem nu-
mam curibus is ut uidit in re fuit nos quam inue
acciuit qui ut censos exis ter ille amicus niret sed quod
huc uenit qua- timauit eos dignus huic ea responde
quam populus paulum ab ad imitandu- bat quae eos
curiatis eum illa consue egregie cor qui quaesis
comitis rege- tudine esse datus homo sent et cura
esse iusserat reuocandos catus aelius et negotio
tamen ipse de ac primum sextus qui e soluerent
suo imperio agros quos gre gie cordatus cuique con
curiatam le bello romu est cautus tra galli stu
gem tulit ho lus coeperat fuit et ab en dio disputan
minesq· ro diuisit uiri nio dictus ti in ore sem
manos insti tim ciuibus est non quod per erat illa

V. 2, M *litt. deletionis signa facile cerni non possunt.*

V. 13, *punctum super* O *positum parum facile cernitur.*

V. 15, *in photographia,* A *altera erasa, posterius* E *scripta esse uidetur; sed hunc locum in ipso codice non inuestigaui.*

de ifigenia gas atq· ide⁻ consequar omnes adpro
achilles astro multum eni⁻ si nostram bauissent quod
logorum sig illum audie remp. uobis habemus igi
na in caelo bam et libe⁻ et nacesste⁻ tur institutae
quid sit obser ter zethum et crescen reip· tam cla
uationis cu⁻ illum pacu tem et adul rum ac tam
capra aut ne ii nimis in tam et iam omnibus no
pa aut exori imicum doc firmam atq· tum exordiu⁻
tur nomen trinae esse rob· tam os quam huius
aliquod bel dicebat ma tendero qua⁻ urbis conde⁻
uarum quod gis eum delec si mihi aliqua⁻ dae principi
est ante pe tabat neop multa plato um profectu⁻
des nemo spec tolemus en nem socra a romulo
tat caeli scru ni qui se ait tes ipse finxe qui patre
tantur pla filosofari ro hoc cum arte natus co⁻

q·uii

V. 10, supra, L *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 14, super I *primam,* I *minus facile cerni potest.*

V. 2, ad fin., D *adesse uidetur.*

de rep. lib. i.

cedamus eni⁻ is igitur ut na sustulissent urbs incole
famae homi tus sit cum re et in agresti bat aequo ani
num praeser mo frate dici cultu labore mo illi liben
tim non inue tur ab amu que aluissent terque pare
teratae solu⁻ lo rege adba perhibetur rent quoru⁻
sed etiam sapi no ob labefac ut adoleuerit copiis cum se
enter a maio tandi regni et corporis ducem prae
ribus proditae timorem ad uiribus et ani buisset ut etia⁻
ut bene meri tiberim expo mi ferocita a fabulis ad
ti de reb· com ni iussus esse te tantum facta uenia
munib· ut ge quo in loco cu⁻ ceteris praes mus oppressis
nere etiam pu esset siluestris titisse ut om se longam
tarentur no⁻ beluae suste⁻ nes qui tum albam uali
solum esse i⁻ tatus uberib· eos agros ubi dam urbem
genio diuino pastoresq· eu⁻ hodie et haec uel potentē

V. 9, punctum super U *positum minus facile cernitur.*

VV. 4, 5, "AMU:LO 1 *Amulo. Maius. Non ita; male dissecaverat I, tum erasa priore* L *et* l *facta est* L *et adscripta* l" (*DuR.*).

V. 15, UEL—"*ex* l *facta est* t" (*DuR.*).

de re p·

temporibus	conatur dili	beret liberos	erudiit sed
illis amuliu⁻	gentissime	sic seruium	cum tarqui
q· regem inter	prouidendu⁻	diligebat ut	nius insidiis
emisse fertur	incredibili op	is eius uulgo	anci filioru⁻
qua gloria par	portunitate	haberetur	interisset ser
tam urbem	delegit neq·	filius atque	uiusque ut
auspicato con	enim ad ma	eum summo	ante dixi reg
deret firmare	re admouit	studiò omni	nare coepis
dicitur primu⁻	quod ei fuit il	bus is artibus	set non ius
cogitauisse	la manu copiis	quas ip· se di	su sed uolun
remp· urbi au	q· facillimum	dicerat ad	tate adq· con
tem locum	ut in agrum	exquisitissi	cessu cϕiuiu⁻
quod est ei qui	rutúlorum	mam consu	quod cum tar
diuturnam	aborigin(u)mue	etudinem	quinius ex
remp· serere	q· facillimum	graecorum	uulnere ae

V. 6. M *prioris delectionis signa facile cerni non possunt.*

V. 14, U *super* M *minus facile cernitur; fortasse* U *minor sub* UO *scripturae Aug. latet.*

V. 15, puncta nonnulla minus facile cernuntur.

ger fuisse et sit se patribus non solum uel graecis
uiuere falso sed tarquini ob eam causa uel peritissi
diceretur il o sepulto po fieri uoluit mis rerum ci
le regio or pulum de ip quod erat ae uilium multa
nat ius dixis se consulut cum de rep· po que colligere
set obaera t iussusque tissimum pri ac docere opti
tosque pecu regnare le cipem reip· di mum longe
nia sua libe gem de impe cere sed etia statum ciui
rauisset mul rio suo curi quod memi tatis esse eum
taq· comita atam tulit et neram perse quem maio
te usus iussu primum rus pe tae cum pa res nostri no
tarquinii s ticorum in naetio disse bis reliquis
e ius dicere iurias bello rere solitum sent qua in
probauisset est ultus ex coram poly disputatione
non commi quo cum ma bio duobus quoniam tu

V. 5, ad fin., I *in* T *mutata esse uidetur.*

V. 1, puncta super EL *posita minus facile cernuntur.*

	parationes	Sari quam i-	saepe enim	quit totum	
	feceris ut eti	ista ipsa quae	hoc de maio	neq· solum	
	am pro his di	mihi laeli a	rib· natum	factum sed	
	cam si de rep·	te proponitur	audibus et ita	etiam impe	
5	quid sentias	etenim cum	intellegimus	ritae absurdae	5
	explicaris no	in suo quem	uulgo existi	q· factum ea	
	bis gratum	que opore ar	mari neque	sunt enim	
	omnibus tu-	tificem qui	uero satis id	demum no	
	ille non pos	quidem ex	annumaliu-	ferenda in me-	
10	sum equide-	cellat nihil	publicorum	dacio quae	10
	dicere me ul	aliut cogita	auctoritate	non facta set	
	la in cogita	re meditari	declaratum	ne fieri qui	
	tione acrius	curare uide	uideums tu-	dem potuis	
	aut diligenti	am nisi quo	scipio falsum	se cernimus	
15	us solere uer	sit in illo gene	est manili in	nam quartu-	15

V. 14, ad fin., TI *minus facile cernitur.*

V. 3, fortasse A *per lineolam deleta est.*

V. 5, punctum super A *ultimam positum minus facile cernitur.*

V. 11, supra, SOLUM *pallidissimum est.*

de rep. ? ? ?

	iam annum	initium et py	dici possint cur	tientur nihil
	regnantem	thagorae de	illa sit resp· res	poterit esse illa
	lucillo tarqui	clarat adue⁻	q. populi quae	beatius sed ta
	nio superbo s	tum	sunt dicta de	men uel regnu⁻ ?
5	ybarim et cro	ex quo intelle	regno et multo	malis quam li 5
	tonem et in	gi regis annis	etiam magis	berum popu
	eas italiae par	dinumera	inquit mum	lum nim
	tis pytagoras	tis potest an	mius nam in	tibi restat ge
	uenisse rep	no fere cen	regem potius	nus uitiosis
10	peritur	tesimo et qua	cadit domini	sumae reip· 10
	olympias enim	d si fragemo post	similitudo	tertium
	secunda et	mortem nu	quod est unus	scipio adgnos
	sexagesima	mae primu⁻	???? ? plures uero .	co inquit tuū
	eadem sub	italiam py	boni in qua	morem istu⁻ ?
15	perbi regni	thagoram	??? rep· rerum po	spuri amuer 15

q· xui·

V. 3, lineola per I *alteram perducta minus facile cernitur.*

V. 4, post NIO, *fortasse adfuit* S, *quae postea erasa est.*

V. 14, initio, utrum B *an* D *littera adsit, adfirmare non ausim.*

V. 7, ceteras litteras cernere non potui.

V. 11, post TERTIUM, HIC *non adest;* IDLIC⁻ *aut* IHLIC⁻ *adesse uidetur.*

Huius paginae scriptura paene tota (pace Du Rieu) legi potest, auxilio libri impressi.

	sum a ratio	praestare regi	agunt rapi	
	ne populi fiet	optimates si	tenent dissipa	
	quamquam	enim sapien	quae uolunt	
	potest id leni	tia est quae gu	potesne tum	
5	us ferri qua⁻	bernet remp·	laeli negare	5
	tu soles ferre	quid tandem	rem illā	
	tamen adse⁻	interest haec	publicam qū	mo nobis
	tior nullum	i unone sit an	populi sint o⁻	non pla
	esse de tribus	plurib· in sed	nia quonia	syracusis fuis
10	his gener	errore quodā	quidem popu	se remp· neq· 10
	quod sit pro	fallimur ita	li esse rem uo	agrigenti neqe
	bandum mi	disputando cū	lumus remp·	athenis qum
	nus illud ta	enim optuma	tum laelius	essent tyra
	men non ad	tis appellantur	ac nullam qui	ni nec hi qum
15	sentio aut tu	nihil potest ui	dem citius ne	decemuiri ne 15

V. 2, FIET *in* SED *corr. esse uidetur.*
V. 9, S *altera minus facile cernitur.*
V. 10, ad fin., aut IB· *aut* IBUS *latere putes; in photographia incertum est, et hunc locum in ipso codice non inuestigaui.*

V. 14, TIS *in* TES *corr. esse uidetur.*

In hac pagina plura cerni non possunt.

	Uideo qui ma	Si esset unus	te ho
	gis in multitu	hoc etiam tae	fuisse
	dinis domina	trior quia ni	romu
	tu reip· nome⁻	hil ista quae po	ut iam
5	appareat qui	puli speciem	homi 5
	primum mihi	et nomen imi	ac tem
	populus non	tatur imma	ipsis er
	est ut tu opti	nius uel bast	ad fin
	me definisti	nec uero con	ui ex cui
10	scipio nisi qui	uernit qum fu	esset lo 10
	consensu iu	riosorum bo	antiqu
	ris continetur	na legib· in adg	nim r
	Sed est tam ty	natorum po	fabula
	rannus iste	testate sint quod	etiam n
15	conuentus quā	eorum iam	numqu 15

V. 4, fortasse ⁻, quod super P *cernitur, macula est.*

V. 5, ad fin., A *litteram cernere non potui.*

V. 8, punctum super B *positum minus facile cernitur, lineolae quoque per* U *et* L *litteras perductae.*

V. 10, de puncto super R *posito dubitari potest.*

V. 14, ad fin., I *potius quam* N *litterae uestigium adesse potest.*

us ne

us ut di

nt quid

a
x fili quo

ille mor

odem

no na

moni

ympia

xta et qui

esima

acilius

legi pos

m de ro

im
li iam mor

V. 8, prima littera M *esse uidetur.*

V. 11, ultimae litterae magna pars cerni non potest.

V. 12, A *litterae hasta dextera sola exstat.*

V. 13, ad fin., S *una cerni potest.*

V. 15, fortasse UIAM, *non* LIIAM.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ROME AND CENTRAL ITALY

THE inscriptions which are here presented were either discovered by the writer, or brought to his notice, during his incumbency of the Professorship of Latin in the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, in 1903–4. They may be classified geographically as coming from Rome and the Campagna, and from Capua and vicinity.

ROME AND THE CAMPAGNA

INSCRIPTIONS FROM VILLA BERTONE, LATER VILLA TAVAZZI

This group of inscriptions was presented to the American School of Classical Studies in Rome by Signor Tavazzi, who recognized the interest shown by Miss Elizabeth Bruce, a student of the school, in the numerous inscriptions scattered about his villa on the Via Salaria. The commentary on the Tavazzi inscriptions has been prepared by Miss Bruce.

The two great northern roads leading from Rome, the Flaminia and the Salaria, like the Appia and the Latina on the south, were frequently used as places of interment. Prudentius, *Contra Symmachum*, i, 404–5, associates the Latina and Salaria as conspicuous examples of such Roman cemetery-roads.

quacumque Latina vetustos
Custodit cineres densisque Salaria bustis.

Christian catacombs abound beyond the first milestone of the Salaria, and along that part of the road near the city there are numerous pagan tombs dating back into the early imperial and republican periods. As the Via Salaria approached the city, it divided into two branches, the Via Salaria Vetus and Via Salaria (Nova),[1] which thus formed a triangle with the Servian Wall as a base. Later the Aurelian Wall formed a new base, extending from the Porta Pinciana to the Porta Salaria. This triangle, filled with tombs in ancient days, was afterwards given over to country estates and vineyards, the boundaries and names of which have been changed many times, so that they frequently defy identification. During the early part of the eighteenth century, 1733–5, in that section, near the apex of the triangle, which was known as Vigna Nari, many inscriptions were discovered. These were collected in a sylloge, compiled at the time by Domenico Giorgi, which now exists in manuscript. One hundred and forty-two are published under *Monumenta Vineae Nariae*, *C.I.L.* VI, 7845–7986. They are now widely scattered. In 1885–6, when the property, known then as Villa Bertone, was divided, many cippi and columbarium slabs were discovered. A large round monument, of a type similar to that of Caecilia Metella, was also

[1] See, however, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, III., pp. 9 and 10.

brought to light, which bore a beautiful inscription of the days of Augustus. This mausoleum, built by the knight Lucilius Paetus for himself and for his sister, was quite elaborate. It had travertine foundations, was adorned with marble facings, and contained a cella with niches for the ashes of the dead. In the course of time it was surrounded by other and more humble tombs, and in the second or third century was entirely covered over and forgotten. After a century or two it was discovered, probably by Christians; the resting places of Lucilius and his sister were destroyed, and by the construction of loculi in the walls the tomb was changed into a columbarium. These devastators used the pagan inscriptions as covers for the recesses and placed their own inscriptions above. This columbarium was in turn ransacked by intruders of a later date. After the excavations of 1885 the mausoleum was partially uncovered and its cella fully explored.

The collection of inscriptions presented to the American School by Signor Tavazzi includes some of those published in the early part of the eighteenth century and some of those discovered in 1885, while others cannot be assigned to either date. Of these forty-one inscriptions, five are small fragments, seven have lost some important part, and twenty-nine are complete or nearly so. The names are generally those of freedmen and of soldiers and belong to either the first, the second, or the third century of our era, although the majority should probably be assigned to the second century.

A. Of the large number of epitaphs found in the Vigna Nari in the early part of the eighteenth century six are now in the collection of the American School:

(1) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7848: *M. Vigellius Ianuarius.* This is now mutilated, as the left side has been broken off and four letters have disappeared from the first line, four from the second, and five from the third. The concentric circles shown in *C.I.L.* represent a depression used for offerings to the dead.

(2) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7867: *L. Octavi Hermetis.* Entire and now correctly given *C.I.L.* VI, 4, fasc. 2, p. 3439.

(3) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7885. Of this only a fragment remains containing L· SODALI with traces of two letters, which are apparently VS of EBVRARIVS.

(4) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7887: *C. Attius C. l. Primigenius.* Now mutilated, as nine letters are missing from the first line and eight from the second.

This may be dated toward the end of the first century, as it mentions a *tabularius* of the household of Domitia, wife of Domitian. The *nomen* Flavia also appears.

(5) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7923: *Nortinae Animae.* Now badly mutilated, as the left half and the lower right-hand corner are missing.

(6) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 7982: *Sextiliae Faustinae.* One letter is lacking in each of the first four lines.

B. The following inscriptions have been found at various times and are scattered through *C.I.L.* VI:

(1) VI, 1, 2612: *M. Oreius Secundus.* Published by Oderici in 1765. The reading H· F· C (*C.I.L.* VI, 4, fasc. 2, p. 3369) is correct. Orelli 69, *C.I.L.* V, p. 192, and Forcellini copy the error of Oderici of *Bellunum* for *Belunum.* De Ruggiero

(*Diz. Ep.*) gives the inscription correctly under the name of the city Belunum. This inscription gives authority for ascribing the town Belunum to the Papiria Tribus.

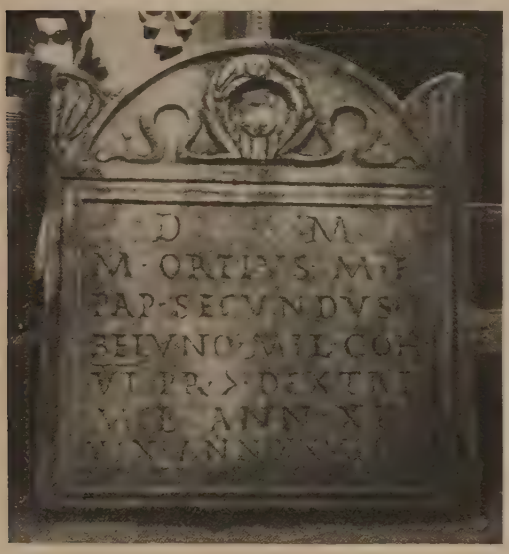


FIGURE 19

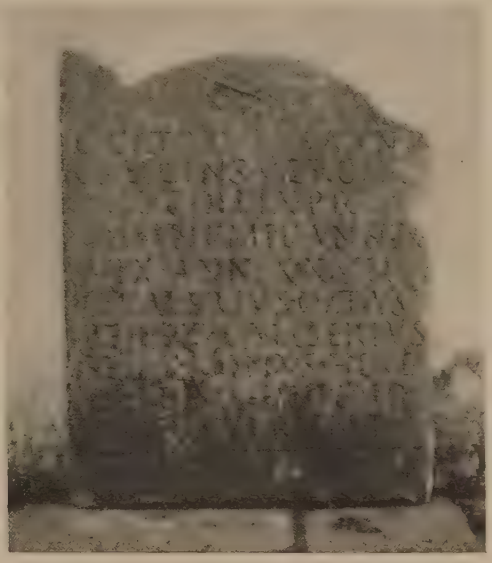


FIGURE 20

(2) *C.I.L.* VI, 1, 3570. Note *mater* without proper name. *C.I.L.* reads SVE-NEMERENTI, for SVE BENE MERENTI, which appears on the stone. Now mutilated.

(3) *C.I.L.* VI, 1, 3897: *L. Catalus.* Correctly given in *C.I.L.* VI, 4, fasc. 2, 32703.

(4) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 10937: *Aelia Marina.* The inscription has COIVGI, and not CONIVGI, as given in *C.I.L.*

This is a thin rectangular slab, 0.95 m. in width and 0.30 m. in height.

(5) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 10948: *Aeliae Phoebes.* Mutilated as indicated in *C.I.L.*, which supplies missing parts from an existing copy. It is still more mutilated now, having lost the first three lines.

(6) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 12064: *Antoniae Phyllidi.* Seriously mutilated, as all the first three lines and part of the fourth and fifth are missing.

(7) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 12317: *L. Aristius Lucrio.* Published by Fabretti in 1702. One letter, the O of the first line, is now missing.

(8) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 15415: *Claudia Eutychia.* The reading of the stone is P · ER-GASIONI and not PERGASIONI, as given in *C.I.L.*

(9) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 15963: *M. Coelio Fortunato.* Correctly given in *C.I.L.* VI, 4, fasc. 2, p. 3518.

(10) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 18502: *M. Flovio Philocalo.* FLVVIAE in l. 4 is perhaps an error of the stone cutter for FLOVIAE.

(11) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 20171: *C. Iulio Palleo.* Note variation in spelling PALLEO and PHALLEVS, due to carelessness.

(12) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 22095: *Q. Marcio Publiliano.* The last five lines are now incomplete. In line 10 the stone has PVBLILIA, but *C.I.L.* has PVBILILIA.

(13) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 22159: *Marciae Sucesse.* One-third of the inscription is now lost.

(14) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 24465: *Cn. Pompeius Fructus.* A small plain tablet 0.40 m. by 0.27 m. is reported as seen in 1695. On the left-hand edge letters I and NCC appear, which are of a later date than the letters of the inscription.

(15) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 25491: *Rosciae Veneriae.* The stone reads IN AG for *in ag(ro)*, and not IN A as in *C.I.L.*

(16) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 27660: *Trophimus.* Note the cognomen *Arrhen*, otherwise unknown.

(17) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 29223: *M. Ulpio Aug. lib. Ionico.* Part of the last two lines have disappeared. The date may be in the reign of Trajan, 98–117, if we may form an opinion from the *nomen.*

(18) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 29281: *M. Ulpius T. f. Verus.* Now mutilated. The names indicate a date in the first half of the second century.

(19) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 29426. Given by Piranesi, *Le Antichità Romane*, tavola 49. See also Bücheler, *A.L.*, 1164. Piranesi reports that it was found in the Villa de Cinque, outside the Porta Salaria, in 1751. The entire inscription was a *carmen* of ten lines, followed by the dedication: IVLIANO · FILIO · L · VMBRIVS · SATVRNINVS. This fragment is all that remains.

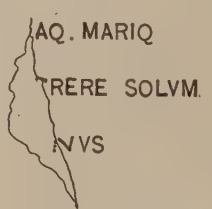


FIGURE 21

C. The following inscriptions were discovered in 1885–6, and are incorporated in the parts of *C.I.L.* VI which were published after that date.

(1) *C.I.L.* VI, 3, 23733; also *B.C.*, 1886, p. 203; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 210: *Palpiae Soteridi.*

(2) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 28644; *N.S.*, 1885, p. 191: *C. Vetilius Primitivus.* The separation of the parts of the word FACE RE is due to an imperfection in the stone, which interfered with the cutting of the R in its proper place. In line 4 both *C.I.L.* and *N.S.* give the last word as ES. It is clearly EST, the T being near the edge and less carefully cut.

De Rossi refers to this inscription in *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1890, p. 75, when discussing the force of phrases of place such as *ad nuce(m)*, which indicates the location of the cemetery. This phrase is found on plate 3, in *Forma Urbis Romae* (Lanciani).

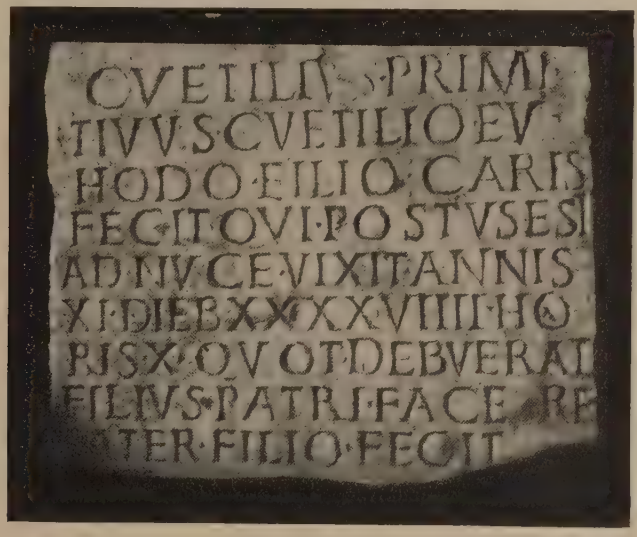


FIGURE 22

(3) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 32678; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 229; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 235: *M. Varsilio Martiali.* This shows a portrait of the deceased on the tympanum.

(4) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 32698; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 160; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 162: *C. Nigidio Iuliano.* This probably belongs to the first half of the second century, as the name P. Aelius Iulianus suggests.

(5) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 35214 and 34256: *A. Fabricius Prothymus* and *Aelia Epigone.* These are given independently in *C.I.L.*, but are on one stone. The dedication to Fabricius is on the left, that to Aelia, his wife, on the right.

(6) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 34380; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 160; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 162: *Amando.*

(7) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 34573; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 203; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 210: *T. Attius Decimus.*

(8) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 34704; *N.S.*, 1885, p. 226: *Caeciliae Epicharis et Callistes.*

(9) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 35603; *B.C.*, 1886, p. 203; *N.S.*, 1886, p. 210; *Iuliae Primigeniae.*

(10) *C.I.L.* VI, 4, 35747; *N.S.*, 1885, p. 253: *M. Cirratus.* Note the peculiar interpunctuation, the use of *i longa*, and the careless repetition of the abbreviation of the praenomen.

D. In addition to the inscriptions noted above, there are two small fragments and four other inscriptions which are apparently unpublished. Only one of the latter, however, is complete.

(1) A small fragment of white marble, measuring 0.10 m. by 0.11 m. by 0.03 m., having a simple border consisting of a single groove (Fig. 23).

(2) A fragment, measuring 0.26 m. by 0.37 m. by 0.10 m., the upper right-hand portion of a white marble slab, with dark streaks, having an ornamented top and a grooved border. The letters are perfect monumental characters of the best period (Fig. 24).

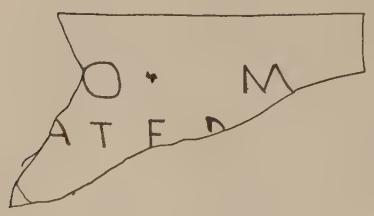


FIGURE 23

FIGURE 24

(3) Two portions of a stone measuring 0.60 m. by 0.44 m. by 0.03 m., with a simply moulded border, 0.045 m. wide on the sides and top, and 0.02 m. wide below. The inscription consists of eight lines, the first six in large letters of the best period, gradually diminishing from four centimeters in height in the first line to a little less than three in the sixth. The other two lines are cut in smaller and inferior characters.

FIGURE 25

Since they contain a dedication distinct from the others and are crowded in at the end, where half of the border seems to have been removed for the purpose, it is probable that they are a later addition.

(4) Five pieces, composing about three-fourths of a plain thin marble slab, measuring 0.32 m. by 0.21 m. by 0.01 m. The letters are tall and slender, with shallow incision, and still show distinct traces of the original red coloring. The mark of punctuation appears in a variety of forms, sometimes as a small triangular cut, and sometimes with a curved pendant varying as to its length and the direction in which it points.

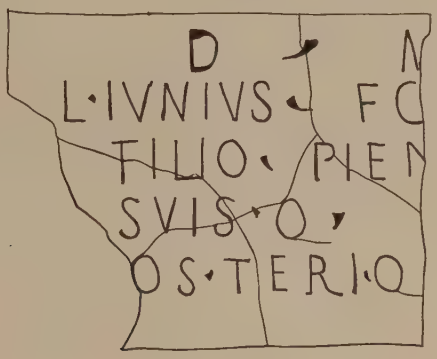


FIGURE 26

(5) The two remaining inscriptions deserve a more extended notice. The first of these is a small square marble slab, measuring 0.26 m. by 0.26 m. by 0.03 m. The stone is without ornamentation. Its lower edge is broken, but the inscription is complete.

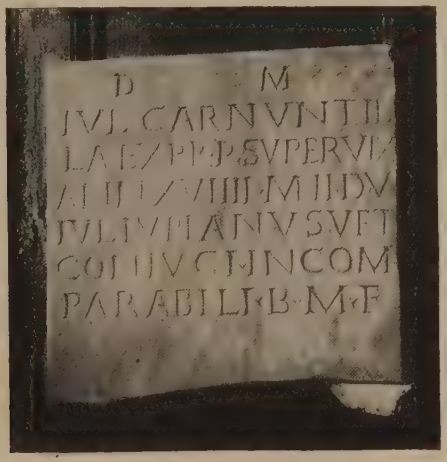


FIGURE 27

The letters are two centimeters in height, evenly and carefully cut, and the lines drawn by the cutter to guide his work are distinctly seen.

The stone is dedicated by a veteran soldier to his young wife, who died at the early age of nineteen.

Julia Carnuntilla, a foreign woman of the province of Upper Pannonia, seems to have taken the gentile name of her husband, a Roman soldier, together with a cognomen derived from the name of the town Carnuntum in that province, which, it may be inferred, was her birthplace or her place of residence. The name Carnuntilla occurs here, apparently, for the first time.

As Pannonia, which had been made a province in the year 8 A.D., was divided by Trajan into Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior, we may assign the inscription, from the style of the lettering, to the early part of the second century.

(6) The other stone is still more interesting in its general character, and is unique in several respects. It is a small rectangular marble tablet, measuring 0.30 m. by 0.18 m. by 0.03 m., bordered by a single groove. The letters, 0.015 m. in height in the first line and slightly less in the others, are well-formed monumental capitals.

The inscription is unfortunately incomplete, the stone having been broken into four pieces, one of which is missing. The three pieces which remain were found by the writer lying in different places in the fossa around the mausoleum of Lucilius and Lucilia.

The epitaph consists of five lines, of the full width of the stone, without any heading.

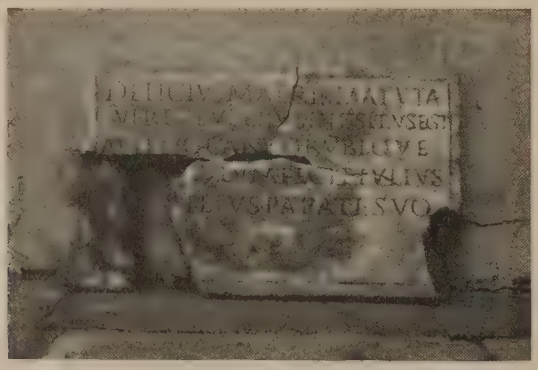


FIGURE 28

Delicius Matris Matutae | *sextae reg(ionis) Eucerus hic situs est.* |
Auletio cantor(um) ubique | [.... *ti*]*tulum fecit Iulius* | [.... *f*]*ilius papati suo*

We have here one of the extremely rare inscriptions which mention the worship of the Mater Matuta, and judging from the published collections, the only one yet discovered which belongs to the city of Rome. Of the nine recorded examples, two belong to Pisaurum in Umbria, two to Cora in the Volscian Hills, two to Praeneste, one to

Cales in Campania, one to Syria, and one, the most recently discovered, to Satricum, the modern Conca, where the goddess possessed a famous temple, several times mentioned by Livy, the remains of which have been found by excavation in the course of the last ten years.

The nine inscriptions above cited, with one possible exception, mention only women as devotees of the goddess or as interested in her worship. The one exception is a small fragment, found at Conca (Satricum) in the year 1896, containing portions of two names, one of which has been taken to be that of the goddess and the other that of a certain (Cor)nelius who is supposed to have dedicated to her, in his official capacity as duumvir, a votive cippus. It has seemed well-established that the worship of the Mater Matuta was essentially a feminine cult, practised by matrons, as is indicated by the name of her festival, the Matralia. If the Cornelius fragment is interpreted correctly, it is the first one found which gives the name of a man as in any way connected with the worship, and the inscription we are considering is the second.

These rites, exclusive as regards the sex of the worshippers, are described as being extremely rigid in respect to the caste of those admitted, and even female slaves were driven from the sacred precincts with abhorrence. As the subject of our epitaph is undoubtedly either a slave or a freedman, it is a little remarkable to see him designated by so strong a phrase as *delicius Matris Matutae*, which can hardly mean anything save "the darling" or "favorite devotee of Mater Matuta."

Our inscription apparently relates to Mater Matuta of the Sixth Region. There is no reference in literature to any temple or shrine of this goddess in that region, the only one mentioned being the well-known *Aedes Matris Matutae* in the Forum Boarium, in the Eleventh Region. If we hesitate to regard the words as pointing to another shrine of the goddess, in the Sixth Region, an alternative construction might be to regard the phrase VI REG (*sextae regionis*) not as belonging to *Matris Matutae* but to *delicius*, and interpret, "Eucerus, the favorite devotee of the Sixth Region, of Mater Matuta." In either case it is not without significance that our stone comes from outside the Porta Salaria, that is from the district toward which the Sixth Region extended.

Delicius is an almost unknown form, but *delicium*, *delicia*, *deliciae*, are found in literature and in inscriptions as common and proper nouns and applied to both sexes. *Delicius* is given and defined in the glossaries, but literature contains no instance of its use. Two inscriptions are quoted in Forcellini as containing it. The first of these is *C.I.L.* VI, 1, 800, taken from manuscript authority of the seventeenth century:

APRICIVS · DELICI | VS · LATINAES · VOL | CANO · SANCTO

The other is *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 3967, in the second part of a double-columned epitaph, and is represented as having lost the right-hand edge, including the last letter of this very word, thus:

AMARANTHO
CERYLLI . DELICIV

An earlier authority (Gori, 73. 4) gives it entire in the form DELICIVS. The inscription is now in the Museo Capitolino, set high in the wall of the long gallery, and is there complete and written DELICIVM. We thus seem to be justified in saying that ours is probably a unique example of the form DELICIVS.

The name *Eucerus* is equally interesting. In this form it seems to occur nowhere else, either in literature or inscriptions. That it is a name of Greek origin is obvious. It should be assigned to εὔκαιρος, "timely, opportune." This occurs as a name in Greek inscriptions, and the translated form, *Eucaerus*, is found in a number of those in Latin. Neither is it unknown in literature. In Tacitus (Ann. XIV, 60) is mentioned one Eucaerus, a slave of Octavia, "*natione Alexandrinus, canere tibiis doctus.*" It is not an insignificant coincidence for the study of our inscription that the Eucaerus of Tacitus was a Greek slave who was a skilful player of the flute. The change of form from *Eucaerus* to *Eucerus* offers no difficulty.

Auletio appears to be a dative from a nominative *auletius*. We naturally look, for the origin of the word, to the Greek αὐλός, which gives the noun αὐλητής and the adjective αὐλητικός, and which appears in Latin as *Auletes*, the cognomen of Ptolemy XI, and in *auleticus*. But of *auletius*, in any of its cases, there seems to be no instance previous to this. It is evidently used here in place of the common Latin word *tibicen*, and the phrase *auletio cantor(um)* may describe the deceased as a flute-player who accompanied the singers in the performance of the religious rites.

Ubique must be connected with the word which followed and which is now lost. We can suggest, but not decide, what that word may have been. A few phrases containing *ubique* are found in inscriptions, but they are not common. *Ubique pius* (written PIVC) on a stone in the Capitoline Museum, describes the donor of an offering to Diana. As we need here an adjective, and as there is room for only three, or at the most four letters before the word (TI)TVLVM, it is not improbable that the missing word is PIO. Possibly it may have been from *notus*, NOTO.

Papati is the dative of *papas*, the same word in origin and original signification as *papa*. With the root-meaning of *pater nutricius*, it came to have the force of the much more common *paedagogus*, and is so defined in the glossaries. It occurs in literature once, Juv. VI, 633: *timidus praegustet pocula papas.* Three instances are given of its occurrence in inscriptions:

(*a*) *C.I.L.* V, 7059: *L. Antistius Zosimus Septicio adiutori papati optimo.*

(*b*) *C.I.L.* VI, 2, 8972, a fragment of the time of Antoninus Pius, relating to a freedman Narcissus, who was "*paedagogus* [*puero*]*rum Imp. et papas Galeriae* [*Aug. liber*]*tae Lysistrates.*"

(*c*) De Rossi (*Inscriptiones Christianae*, I, p. 176) publishes the following inscription:

Perpetuam sedem nutritor possides ipse.
Hic meritus finem magnis defuncte periclis
Hic requiem felix sumis cogentibus annis.
Hic positus papas Antimio qui vixit annis LXX.

Then follow the names of the consuls, giving the date 392 A.D. This was found in the year 1787, and is now in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican Museum. Its

discovery was followed by a spirited controversy, the last word of which was not written for more than half a century. The name in the fourth line, cut with no separating mark or space, thus, PAPASANTIMIO, was read by some scholars *Papa Santimio*, and taken to be the name of an early bishop or pope, otherwise unknown. Another party, casting ridicule on the first for the new pope whom they had discovered, claimed that it was simply *papas Antimio*, with Juvenal's rare word *papas* meaning *paedagogus;* and this was the view that prevailed.

Admitting, then, that the word exists in these three inscriptions, we must also admit that it is uncommon, and our stone is interesting as furnishing another and an unquestionable example of its epigraphical existence.

We therefore have in this little inscription of five lines a new topographical suggestion, a fresh detail for the study of a religious cult, an unusual epitaphial phrase and four name-forms rarely seen or hitherto unknown.

Inscriptions from Gabii

1. This fragment of white marble (Fig. 29) was found in the field which has been identified as the location of the Forum of Gabii, which lies to the east of the temple and slopes toward the building as one approaches from the east. The letters indicate a good period, and the inscription may be placed in the latter part of the first, or in the early part of the second, century. The dimensions of the stone are 0.12 m. by 0.09 m. by 1.6 cm. The letters measure 1.5 cm.

The reading apparently is :

IDI
*pl*OTIV *s*
*a*ELIV *s*
*v*OLVS*ius*
*a*VREL*ius*

This may be an *album decurionum* or an *album collegii*. The names are all common in Latium. The IDI may be for *idi(bus)*. The stone shows traces of a letter before the I, at a distance of about 0.5 cm.

The stone has been used for another purpose, as a rude M, much larger than the other letters, appears on the other side. It may be for *d.* M. of a sepulchral inscription.

I have endeavored to associate this inscription with *C.I.L.* XIV, 4232 and 2801, as the former is described as being on white marble, 1.7 cm. thick; but I believe the two inscriptions are of different character.

See Ashby, Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, I.

2. These brick stamps (Fig. 30) are on a *tegula* found in the ruins of the church at Gabii known as St. Primitivus. The structure belongs to the second century, as is shown by the *opus reticulatum*. This *tegula* should be classed with those of Praeneste which give the names of magistrates of the Colonia Praenestina, *duoviri*, *aediles*, *quaestores*, *C.I.L.* XV, pp. 462 ff. Dressel, *C.I.L.* XV, p. 9, places rectangular stamps

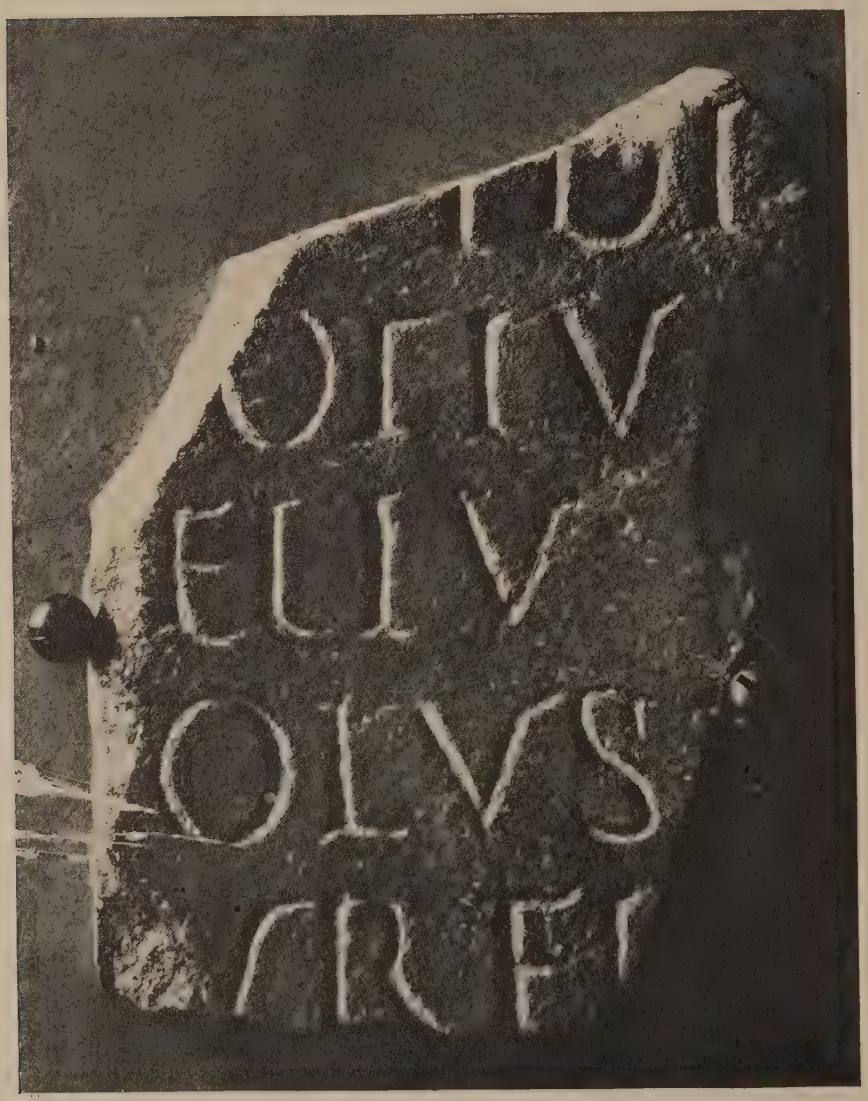


FIGURE 29

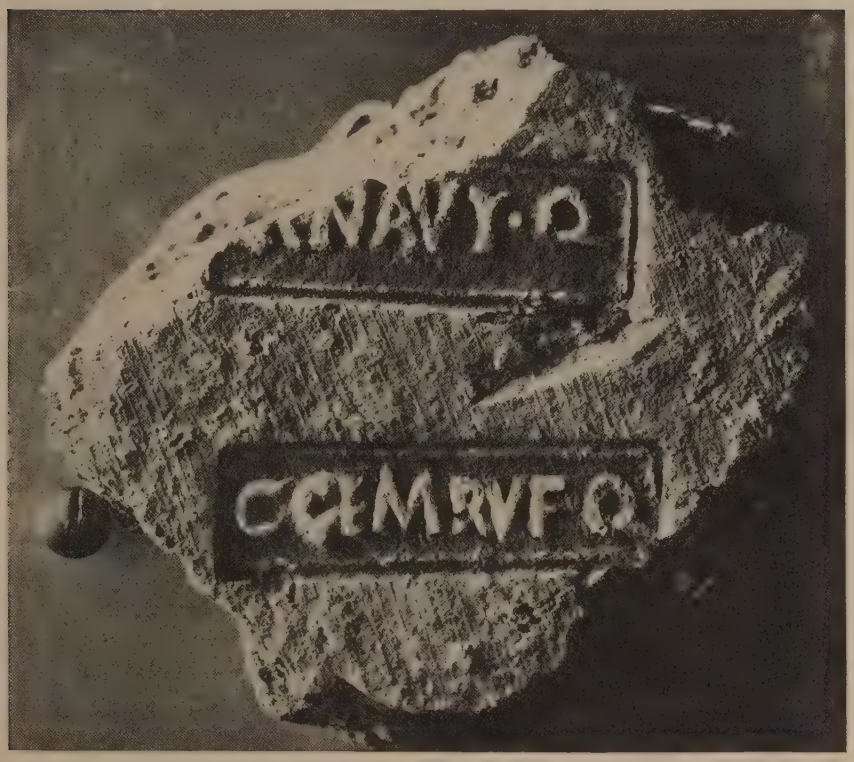


FIGURE 30

which give the *consulatus nota* between 110–164 A.D., and assigns those with names of the magistrates of *coloniae* to the same class.

The first is:

M·NAVT·Q

M·Naut ( ) *q(uaestoris?)*

See *C.I.L.* XV, 2303, and XIV, 4091, 14, where the same stamp is given and assigned to Praeneste, Vinea Bonanni. The editor of *C.I.L.* remarks "*litteris antiquioribus.*"

The second stamp, which has not as yet been noticed on any *tegula*, is:

C · GEM RVF · Q

C·Gem(ini) Ruf(i) q(uaestoris?)

These stamps measure 0.5 cm. long, 1.6 cm. wide. Mr. Thomas Ashby, Jr., found in the same locality a fragment of a brick stamp, *C.I.L.* XV, 2353, which belongs also to the early part of the second century. See *Papers of the British School at Rome*, Vol. I, p. 194.

STAMPS ON BRICKS FROM THE AURELIAN WALL

1.

FIGURE 31

2.

FIGURE 32

3.

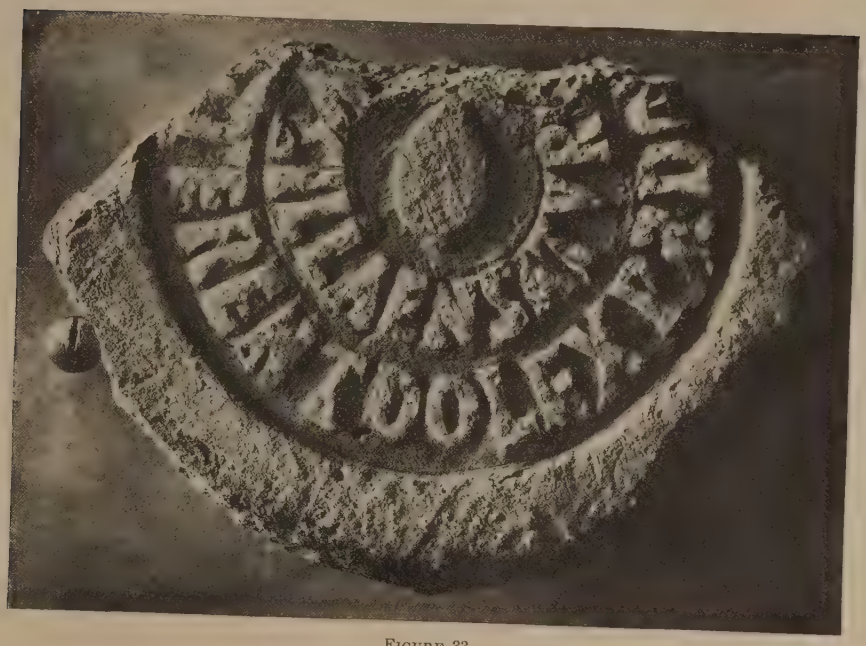


FIGURE 33

4.

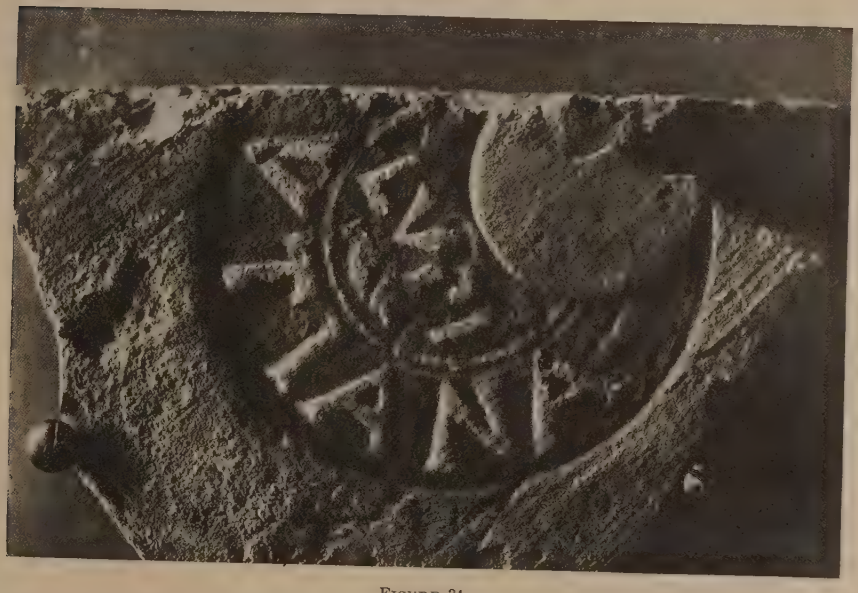


FIGURE 34

1 (Fig. 31) *C. Nae(vi) | Gam(i)*

Found near the Porta San Giovanni of the Aurelian Wall. It is given *C.I.L.* XV, 1329, and Marini, *Inscr. Dol.* 1070. The date is the middle of the first century.

2 (Fig. 32)

SER FIR EX P ÆB CE
VERO III ET M BIBVL COS

Ser(vili) Fir(mi) ex p(raedis) Ab(urni) Ce(diciani) Vero III et M. Bibul(co) co(n)s(ulibus)

Found among the bricks of the Aurelian Wall, near the Porta Pia. Its date is 126 A.D. It measures 0.13 m. long, 3.5 cm. high. The letters are 1.1 cm. high. It is given in *C.I.L.* XV, 234.

3 (Fig. 33)

[ex f(iglinis)] Terent(ianis), dol(iare) ex pr(aedis) Do[miti(ae) L]ucillae n(ostrae) Saturn[i(ni?)]

Found near the Porta Pia among bricks from the Aurelian Wall. It is given in *C.I.L.* XV, 616, and Marini, *Inscr. Dol.* n. 60, and its date is about 140 A.D.

4 (Fig. 34)

[Br]utiana
Lupi
(Tegula) Brutiana (M. Rotili) Lupi

This also was found among bricks of the Aurelian Wall, near the Porta Pia. It is one of the numerous *tegulae Brutianae*: *C.I.L.* XV, 29.

FIGURE 35

Part of a fictile vessel of some kind, bearing on the base the name *Pullaeni* as a *graffito*. Found in Rome, on the Pincian Hill. This name is common on *lucernae fictiles* of this kind in Africa and in Sardinia, but it is rare in other places. Hence we may believe that the vessel was manufactured in Africa.

See *C.I.L.* VIII, 22644, 276–282. Also *C.I.L.* X, 8053, 168. In *Revue Arch.*, III series, XXVI (1895), p. 279, n. 32, we find: *Praedia Pullaenorum.*

See also for lamps marked thus with a *stilus* and found in Rome, *C.I.L.* XV, 6643.

CAPUA AND VICINITY

In the spring of 1904 I spent two weeks at Capua and in the neighboring towns of Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Curti, S. Prisco, San Angelo in Formis, and Caserta, for the purpose of obtaining information supplementary to the material contained in Volume X of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.* The most important collection of inscriptions of Campania, second only to that of Naples, is located in the Museo Campano of Capua. This museum was once the centre of archaeological interest in this section, but it is now rarely visited even by scholars. Since the death of Gabriel Ianelli (see *C.I.L.* X, p. 374), who was a devoted student of Campanian archaeology, little attention has been given to increasing the collections of this interesting museum, which contains not only numerous Latin inscriptions, but likewise many Oscan ones and other remains of Oscan archaeology.

While looking over the visitors' book, I found the following note in the handwriting of Theodore Mommsen, which deserves recording.

"Teodoro Mommsen di Berlino visitò il Museo Campano per la seconda volta il 7 e 8 Giugno 1876. Avendo egli percorso buona parte delle provincie meridionali e

troppo spesso dovuto deplorare la mancanza di ogni cura pubblica per i monumenti antichi, la splendida conservazione che fa questa nobile fondazione creato dallo zelo dei patriotti Campani gli ha rallegrato il cuore e lascia Capua facendo voti per il continuo aumento ed il prospero avvenire di sì nobile impresa condotta e diretta dallo zelo della Commissione Conservatrice di antichità e belle arti delle provincie di Terra di Lavoro."

The Latin inscriptions of the Museo Campano have been published with few exceptions in *C.I.L.* X, in *E.E.* V, pp. 120–141, in *N.S.*, and finally, although with lack of critical exactness, in the few volumes of the *Atti della Commissione Conservatrice dei Monumenti e Belle Arti della Provincia di Terra di Lavoro.*

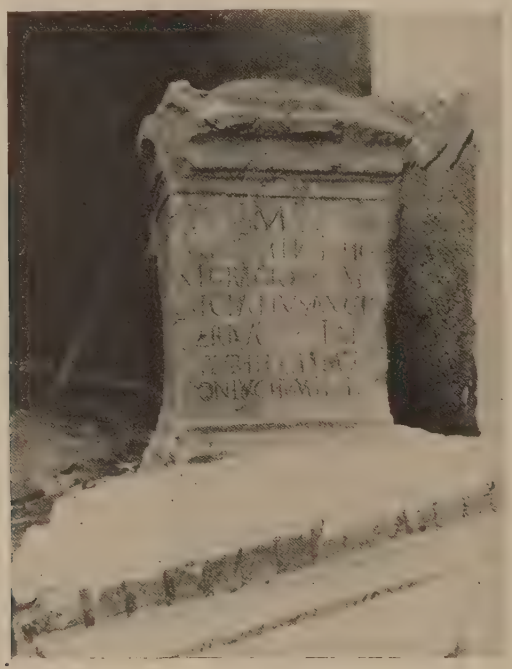


FIGURE 36

The following inscriptions are given here either because they have hitherto been unpublished or because of some modification which should be made in the accepted readings.

1. A large *cippus sepulcralis* of travertine, found at Monte Palombara, in the wall of an old building, now in Museo Campano, Capua. Its measurements are 1.07 m. by 0.64 m. by 0.54 m. with letters 0.06 m. high. Hitherto unpublished.

D(is) M(anibus) S(acrum). | *M(arco) Aurelio Felici* | *rec(tori) region(is) Stata(nae),* | *Nicianus Aug(usti) n(ostri) verna patr[i], Aurelia Hamill[a] coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) fecer[u]nt.*

"Sacred to the gods of the dead. To Marcus Aurelius Felix, rector of the district

Statana. Nicianus, household slave of our Augustus, and Aurelia Hamilla have erected this monument, the son to his father and the wife to her worthy husband."

The third line is difficult, but probably stands for *rec(tori) region(is) Stata(nae)*.

Professor Dessau in a personal letter has referred to the *Ager Statanus, conterminus Falerno*, celebrated for its wine (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 14, 65; 23, 36; Strabo, 5, 234; Athenaeus, 1, 26 *c*). I examined the inscription with the greatest care, visiting Capua a second time to verify the reading REC, and found that this was correct.

If we read *reg(ionarius) reg(ionis)*, our difficulty is not lessened, for the title is used of an army officer in Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 4920. The office of the *regionarius* of an inscription from Sens (*C.I.L.* XIII, 2958) is not known.

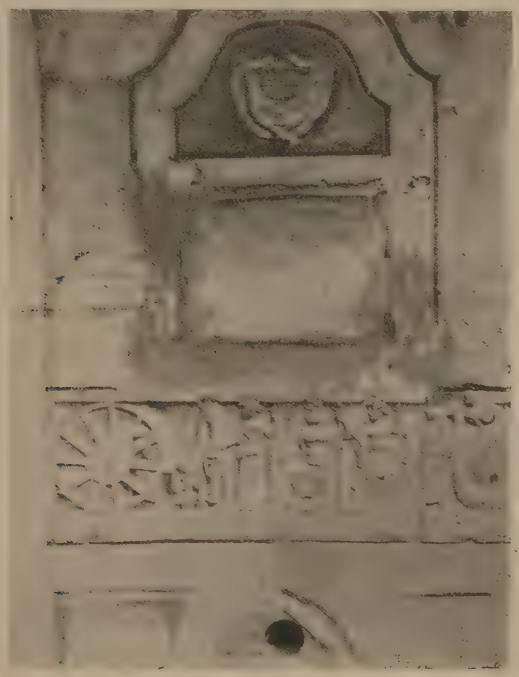


FIGURE 37

2. This relief is set in the wall of the court of the Museo Campano in Capua. It represents Jupiter seated, Minerva on his right turned toward a *marmorarius*, who is busy cutting a column. The wheel near by is intended to raise the column. To the left of Jupiter is Diana, then a figure holding in the left hand a cornucopia and pouring a libation upon an altar. Beyond this figure is a large serpent, crested and bearded. Above the serpent and the figure are the words *genius* [*the*]*atri*. On the lower margin of the frame are the words:

Lucceius Peculiaris redemptor prosc[*a*]*eni*
ex biso (sic) *fecit.*

Some (*e.g.* Jahn, *Berichte der sächs. Ges. d. W.* 1861, p. 304) have believed that the figure alongside the serpent was Fortuna. It is, however, the genius himself, as the upper part of the body lacks the full womanly form which we should expect if this stood for Fortuna. The genius with a cornucopia on the left arm and with a serpent by his side is a common representation.

C.I.L. X, 3821; Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 3662. Dessau states that the figures were given by A. S. Mazzochi and from this copy a representation by Millin in *Galerie Myth.*, tab. xxxviii, fig. 139, was taken. There has always been uncertainty as to the figure next to the serpent, although Mabillon and Mazzochi believed it to be a man. The photograph given above apparently settles the question.

Consular Fasti from Teano

This inscription was obtained from the Hon. Orazio Pasquale at Curti, a little hamlet near Capua, in the spring of 1904. According to Signor Pasquale, the stone was found at Teano, ancient Teanum Sidicinum, of the same region as Capua. It is a small marble fragment, measuring 24.8 cm. by 22.5 cm. by 3 cm. The letters belong to the *scriptura actuaria*, or documentary style, similar to those of

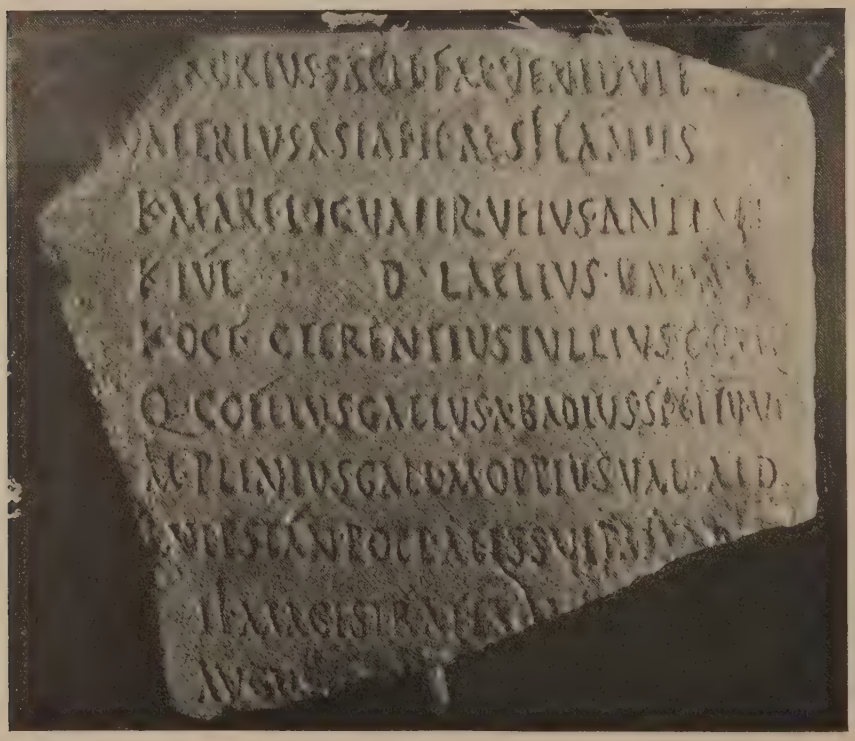


Figure 38

other *fasti*. *Apices* are found over certain long vowels: *a* in *Silanus*, *a* in *Vipstanus*, *u* in *Iulius*, and over the diphthongs *ae* in *Laelius* and *oe* in *Coelius*. One *i longa* is seen in *Silanus* in line 2. Huelsen in *Mitth. d. k. d. arch. Inst. Rom*, 1904, vol. XIX, calls attention to the fact that the *litterae Claudianae*, introduced by Claudius in his censorship in 47 A.D., do not appear in this inscription.

There are ten lines, six of which are complete and easily read. The incomplete lines are the first, ninth, and tenth. The first probably reads [*M*]*agrius Sagitta L. Venidius Vitulus*, although the letters of the stone indicate rather *Magrius Sagit*(*ta*) *Fal*(*erna tribu*) *Venid*(*ius*) *Vitul*(*us*), an irregularity in the position of the name of the tribe which is found in other inscriptions and might be recognized here, where there are many peculiarities. Three instances are given in *C.I.L.* IX, one in X, and ten or more in VIII, so that we can hardly speak of this as *unmöglich* (Huelsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 325, n. 2).

The ninth line has the sign for *iterum* at the beginning, which should be taken with the second name of the preceding line. Then follow *magistrat* ... and *ex*. The tenth line has *August* for *August*(*i*) or *August*(*ales*).

The other lines, beginning with the second, read:

Valerius Asiaticus II M. Silanus
K(*alendis*) *Mart*(*iis*) *loc*(*o*) *Valer*(*ii*) *Vetus Antistius*
K(*alendis*) *Iul*(*iis*) *D. Laelius Balbus*
K(*alendis*) *Oct*(*obribus*) *C. Terentius Tullius Geminus*
Q. Coelius Gallus A. Badius Sext[*us*] *IV viri*
M. Plinius Gall(*us*) *M. Oppius Val*(*erius*) *Aed*(*iles.*)
Vipstanus Popl(*icola*) *Messala Vips* . . . . .

The inscription therefore names the *consules ordinarii* of the year 46 A.D., D. Valerius Asiaticus and M. Junius Silanus; three *consules suffecti*, Antistius Vetus, D. Laelius Balbus and C. Terentius Tullius Geminus; then the municipal *quattuorviri*, Q. Coelius Gallus, A. Badius Sextus; and *aediles*, M. Plinius Gallus and M. Oppius Valerius.

Abundant testimonia from Seneca, Tacitus, Josephus, and Dio Cassius, as well as from inscriptions, indicate that Valerius Asiaticus and Junius Silanus were the consuls of the year 46 A.D. (Klein, *Fasti Cons.*, p. 33). We know also from Josephus, *Ant.* 19, 1, 20, and Dio, 59, 30, that Asiaticus was *consul suffectus* before 41 A.D., and perhaps in the reign of Tiberius. Dio 60, 27, Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* 2, 26, 6, and Tacitus, *Ann.* 11, 1, bear witness to his second consulship in 46, which is again stated in the new *fasti* from Teano. Dio, 60, 27, declares that he gave up his consulship in the course of his year of office, and in the edict in bronze of Claudius, *de civitate Anaunorum*, this resignation from office is shown to have occurred before the Ides of March, as Q. Sulpicius is mentioned as the associate of Junius Silanus on that date. The Teano *fasti* declare that Antistius Vetus became *consul suffectus* in place of Valerius Asiaticus on the first of March.[1] We have, therefore, a change of consuls in fifteen days or half a month, whereas, with exceptions it is true, particularly in the reign of Tiberius, the tenure before Nero was of six months' duration at least.

[1] The wretched character, career, and death of Asiaticus may be traced in the details gathered in *Prosopographia*, III, p. 352.

It is noteworthy that Q. Sulpicius Camerinus is not named in the Teano *fasti*. It is not likely that Vetus Antistius has been substituted for Sulpicius Camerinus, for when errors have been made in *fasti*, they have been due to the confounding of two similar names, as when C. Pompeius Graecina takes the place of C. Pomponius Graecinus, and C. Vibius Libo that of C. Vibius Rufus, in *Fasti Antiates*, *C.I.L.* I², p. 72; and when L. Pontius Flaccus, consul in 17 A.D., is given for L. Pomponius Flaccus, and M. Silius, consul in 19 A.D., for M. Silanus in the *fasti* of a *collegium* from Luna, *C.I.L.* I², p. 73.

In such documents we are entirely justified in expecting errors in the various names, as they were drawn up after the incumbency of the officials; in some instances after the lapse of many years. The order Vetus Antistius is not extraordinary when the praenomen is omitted; in fact it is the arrangement where greater familiarity is recognized. We should undoubtedly accept the authority of the Teano *fasti* and place Antistius Vetus among the *consules suffecti* of this year, 46 A.D. Valerius Asiaticus had resigned from the consulship, so that he might diminish the hostile feeling with which he was regarded, and this took place on March 1, instead of March 15, as hitherto believed. We cannot positively identify this Antistius Vetus. He may be C. Antistius Vetus, consul in 50 A.D., and this short consulship may then justify the mark of iteration, II, of *C.I.L.* XII, 2234, which has been commonly regarded as a misreading for *et*. He may be L. Antistius Vetus, *consul iterum* in 55 A.D. (*Prosopographia*, I, p. 89). We learn also for the first time that D. Laelius Balbus was *consul suffectus* in this year. If it is the Laelius Balbus mentioned in *Prosopographia*, II, p. 260, no. 28, he must have returned to imperial favor under Claudius, for Tacitus, *Ann.* 6,48 relates his *deportatio* in 37 A.D.

From the Teano *fasti* we also learn that the consulship of Junius Silanus and Terentius Tullius Geminus, as named in Marini, *Atti dei fratelli Arvali*, p. 72, was of the year 46. The *consules suffecti* who took office in October remained throughout the year, for the copy made by Marini, which is not given in *C.I.L.* VI, has *VII idus Decembr. M, Iunio Silano Terentio Tullio Gemino cos.* Huelsen, *loc. cit.*, calls attention to the interesting identification of Claranus, mentioned in the same inscription, with the friend of Seneca (*Epist.* 66, 1–4; *cf. Prosopogr.* I, p. 345), suggested by Borghesi and confirmed by establishing the date of the inscription given by Marini through the discovery of the Teano *fasti*.

The following is the inscription, which is not given in *C.I.L.* VI, but by Huelsen, whose reading SCVRI for SCYRI. DECEMBR for DECEMB and *m* for ꝑ, I have followed:

. . . . . SACRVM
ATTI · C · F · TER SCVRI
VII · IDVS · DECEMBR
m IVNIO · SILANO
. . TERENTIO · TVLLIO · GEMINO COS
. . . . . E . . . . .
. . CLARI · AVI
ET
. . . CLARANI · AVVNCVLI

In a paper read before the Archaeological Institute, brief mention of which appeared in the *A.J.A.* IX, 1905, I called attention to the bearing the non-appearance of the name of Vellaeus Tutor, consul, whom some assign to 46, might have upon the statement of Ulpian (*Digesta*, 16. 1, 2. 1) *et primo quidem temporibus divi Augusti, mox deinde Claudii, edictis eorum erat interdictum ne feminae pro viris suis intercederent; postea factum est senatus consultum . . . cuius . . . verba haec sunt: "Quod M. Silanus et Velleus Tutor consules verba fecerunt,"* etc. We have here the consuls M. Silanus and Vellaeus Tutor, also a statement that the *Senatus Consultum Velleianum* was passed in their consulship, and yet after Claudius. Borghesi (*Oeuvres* 5, 205) held that the consuls were L. Junius Silanus and C. Vellaeus Tutor of the year 27, thus implying a double error in Ulpian's statement. Others have held that the date Ulpian referred to was 46, when M. Silanus was consul and probably Vellaeus Tutor (Mommsen, *Hermes*, IV, 105, note 2). If we place great importance on the absence of the name Vellaeus Tutor, and are unwilling to add his name to the four *suffecti* of that year who are already known, we must accept Borghesi's theory as to 27 or continue to wait for a reference, in some newly discovered inscription, to two consuls M. Silanus and Vellaeus Tutor of a year subsequent to the reign of Claudius.

The expression *loco Valerii* in line 3 is more definite than is customary in the *fasti minores*, which generally leave us in doubt as to whose place the *consul suffectus* fills. Thus in *Fasti Ostienses* (*C.I.L.* XIV, 245) we are not informed whether in the year 92 L. Venuleius Apronianus succeeded Domitian or Q. Volusius Saturninus, and in *Fasti Antiates* we do not know whether in 12 A.D. Visellius Varro succeeded Germanicus or Fonteius. It is true that this information may be suggested through the relative position of the names, as in *Fasti Colotiani* (*C.I.L.* I², p. 64), where it is evident that M. Vinicius succeeded C. Sentius Saturninus. The *Fasti Capitolini*, however, recognize the few *consules suffecti* of republican days by adding to the name of the predecessor *in eius locum factus est* (*C.I.L.* I², p. 25). This is also true of the *fasti* of the days of Caesar, but in those of the days of Augustus indication of the assignment of the *suffecti* becomes rare. See, however, *Fasti Capitolini* of 6 A.D., where Nonius Asprenas is shown to be substitute consul for Arruntius and in 11 A.D. Cassius Longinus is the successor of Aemilius Lepidus; but we are entirely uncertain as to the consuls of 12 A.D. Therefore the Teano *fasti* have apparently returned to the more explicit form of republican days.

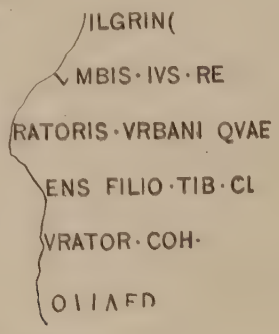
In line 8 we find *Vipstanus Poplicola Messala Vips* . . . . The consuls of 48 A.D. were L. Vipstanus Poplicola Messalla and A. Vitellius, but it is unlikely that in this line we have the names of consuls, for no mention is made of the consuls of 47 A.D. Again the stone shows VIPS and not VITE as suggested by Huelsen. Furthermore the following line begins with the mark of iteration and *magistrat*, so that I am inclined to believe that the names of line 8 are those of municipal magistrates. We should expect VIPS to be the beginning of the second name, judging from the probable length of the line. It may stand for Vips(tanianus), a cognomen of Vipstanus Poplicola. For the Vipstani Poplicolae Messallae see *Prosopographia*, III, p. 445.

The Emperor Claudius established a *colonia* at Teanum Sidicinum which was termed (*C.I.L.* X, 4799) *Colonia Claudia Firma Teanum*. From the time of Claudius mention

is made of municipal officials, *IIIIviri* (*C.I.L.* X, 4796), as here. It seems entirely reasonable to assign the inscription to the days of Claudius. The use of the *apices*, the *i longa*, and the general appearance of the letters indicate a date in the middle or at the close of the first century A.D. Huelsen (*loc. cit.*, p. 326) has expressed the opinion that the Teano *fasti* are simply the early part of the extensive municipal *fasti*, another piece of which, discovered in the eighteenth century at the Cathedral of Calvi (Cales), Mommsen assigns to 289 A.D. Though these belong to different centuries and differ to some extent in form, there is a marked resemblance in the enumeration, with unusual fulness, of the *consules suffecti* as well as of the *consules ordinarii*. See *C.I.L.* X, 4631.

Inscriptions in the Museo Campano

1. Fragment of marble slab.



2. On a small slab 0.17 by 0.20 m.

GELIS Q
MNES VIR

3. Fragment of a marble *cippus sepulcralis* in form of an *aedicula*, 0.27 by 0.68 m.

VIX·A·IIII·M·IX
APLIATA FILIAE

vix(it) a(nnis) (quattuor) m(ensibus) (novem) [Am]pliata filiae.

4. On a long thick slab of marble 1.07 by 0.14 m. An elegiac couplet.

VIVE DEO DVM FATA SINVNT NAM CVRVA SENECTVS
TE RAPIT ET DITIS IANVA NIGRA VOCAT

5. Fragment of a sepulchral inscription 1 by 0.25 m.

FAL
VIR
AE
ND

6. Slab of marble 0.62 by 0.58 m. Fine letters.

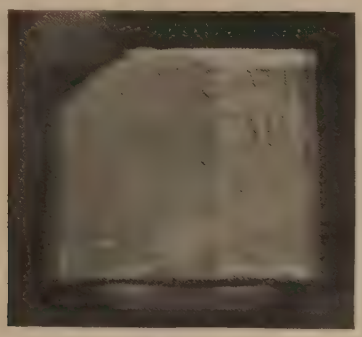


FIGURE 39

C MARC I ♣ ATHIC
MARCIAE ♣ CALLIS
ET ♣ SIBI ♣ S

7. A slab 0.32 by 0.93 m.

ꟻHIC REQUIESCIT IN SOM
NO PACIS ˢ PROIECTA · DEPO
SITA XVI KALˢ OCTOBRI FLˢ
EVTHARICO CILLICA CONS

Note ˢ as a sign of punctuation.

Flavius Eutharicus Cillica Witheri f. was consul in the West, with *imperator Flavius Iustinus Augustus* in the East, in the year 519.

Cf. *Proiectus* in a Christian inscription of Sardinia (Carales), *C.I.L.* X. 7768.

8. Large fragment of a sepulchral *cippus*. 0.74 by 0.48 m. Found at S. Maria Capua Vetere by Domenico Papa.

P · BRITTIO · PRINCIPI
FECIT BRITTIA CALLINI DELICIOM
HIC VIXIT AN▨ DI▨ XV

Atti della Comm. 1894, p. 89. (I have corrected the errors of the transcript given in the *Atti*.)

9. A small slab of marble found at S. Maria Capua Vetere in 1894.

MEMORIAE
Q · VRBANI · SECVNDI · QVI
VIX · ANN · V · M · XI · D XXV
NOSTILIVS · FRVCTVS · ET · VR
BANIA · SECVNDA · PARENTES
FILIO · DVLCISSIMO · FECERVNT

Atti della Comm. 1895, p. 25.

10.

VMENII
· A N N · X X X I I I
I A · D I O N Y S I A
G I · B E N E M E R E N T I

Atti della Comm. 1871, p. 23, has *instrumentis* (sic) *vixit annis XXXIII Clunia Dionysia coniugi benemerenti.*

11. A small slab of marble found at Capua.

AIC
ERDOTI /
DEVM · QVI · VIX
XIIII · M · II · D
\IVS · FORTVII
I D

Atti della Comm. 1892, p. 22, reads: *L. Laio L. f. sacerdoti matris deum qui vixit annis LXIII mensibus II diebus Laius Fortunatus l. d. d. d.*

Note the *I* above the *M* which stands for *mensibus.*

12. *E.E.* VIII, 484.

There are now four fragments of this stone, which once formed the front of an altar of marble. Line 5 has certainly M·FABIO, the I falling in the fracture. Line 6 reads clearly M · NEP and not MNEI (*sic*), as given by Ihm.

13. *E.E.* VIII, 477.

The first line has RII with a mutilated A before the R. There is no E in line 6, but simply VRBIS. Line 7 has only VR REIP.

14. *E.E.* VIII, 486.

The letter enclosed in the C of SCPO is not distinctly an A and may with much probability be I.

15. *E.E.* VIII, 538.

The first line is ARISTONICEN. a genitive singular *Aristonicen(is)*, and not ARISTONI CEN, *i.e. Aristoni cent.*

There is no ligature at the end of the line.

16. *E.E.* VIII, 539.

The second line should read TERTIAE and not TERTIA F, according to Ihm.

17. *E.E.* VIII, 547.

OPSIA · ARAI
FIDELIS TRI

The TRI may be for [*mat*]*ri.* I did not recognize I RI.

18. *E.E.* VIII, 552.

RVFA · VORENA · P · L · S · E

The letter before the E is an S and not a C, as Ihm reads it.

19. *E.E.* VIII, 553.

The first letter of line 1 is apparently an F, but is probably for S. Line 5 has plainly HIC OSA.

20. *E.E.* VIII, 556.

The mark in the letter C of ICHESIO is not a *punctum* and probably is of no significance.

21. *C.I.L.* X, 3777; *E.E.* VIII, p. 120.

This stone now forms the pilaster for the spring of an arch in the cortile of a house, Corso Campano, 177, Capua. It is on the left as one enters, and rests on its left end. The letters are deciphered with great difficulty, as the stone is now covered with lime and has experienced harsh treatment.

22. *C.I.L.* X, 3803.

The first line of this inscription reads plainly IN FRONTE P·C and not O·NERONE P·Q, as given by Mommsen. The reading was verified by my students.

23. *C.I.L.* X, 4440.

The last numeral on line 1 is LXXXX and not LXXX.

24. *C.I.L.* X, 4791. This inscription, found at Teano and read by Mommsen, disappeared later, so that he declares that in 1876 it was impossible for him to locate it. It is now in the Museo Campano. The second line reads VIRGINIAE, and not VIRGILIAE as in *C.I.L.* The A of *mAteR* is also plainly seen.

25. *C.I.L.* X, 8227.

Line 1 should read HELVIA / E·Ↄ·L· The E is on the stone.

Line 2 should read MENOGENEAE.

26. *N.S.* 1893, p. 164.

FIGURE 40

Line 2 does not have Q, line 4 has FABIV, and the last line IDEM and not IIDEM.

27. Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* 4085.

There is no trace of the O of the word SABAEO.

28. A marble sarcophagus of large size. The inscription is in a medallion.

S. Prisco

At the farmhouse of Crocefisso on the stone architrave of the porch.

H·M·S·S·H·NON·S

Aquino

On a large stone near the farmhouse to the left of Porta S. Lorenzo as one approaches it from the town.

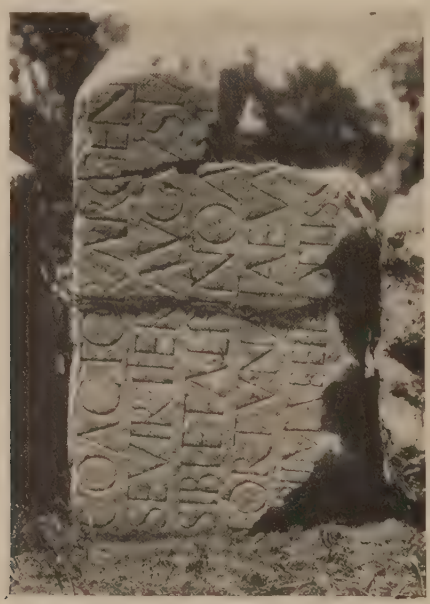


Figure 41

Reported by Mr. C. Densmore Curtis, a member of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome, who visited Aquino in June, 1904.

Coactor argen[tarius] sevir iter(um) Augusta[lis] sibi et Albino am[ico et] Fortunatae ux[ori] optimae et fideliss[imae].

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